Vol. V, containing also the Index for Vols. III-V will be published in June.

WORKS

BY

THE LATE

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON,

M.A., F.R.S.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF
CALCUTTA AND PARIS, AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY;
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE;
MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF ST. PETERSBURGH AND VIENNA,
AND OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF MUNICH AND BERLIN;
PH. D. BRESLAU; M. D. MARBURG, ETC.;
AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1864.

ESSAYS

ANALYTICAL, CRITICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL

ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH

SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

BY THE LATE

H H WILSON, M A, F R S,

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
ETC, ETC

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

DR REINHOLD ROST

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL I

LONDON
TRÜBNER & CO, 60 PATERNOSTER ROW
1861

also, made exclusively from MSS less with a view to literal and philological accuracy than to present to the reader a life like picture of oriental manners and customs the author's natural sagacity and his intimate acquaintance with Hindu life and modes of thought have happily unravelled many a knot, from solving which the state of the MSS would probably have deterred less able scholars. Had Professor Wilson lived to superintend an edition of his works, he would perhaps have made a different selection inserting some articles now omitted and excluding others, he would perhaps have amalgamated into one essay several treating of kindred subjects, and certainly he would have reproduced most of them in a new form, with all the additional erudition and experience which a long and uninterrupted course of study and research would have enabled him to bring to bear upon it. But it could of course, be no business of another editor's to attempt anything of the kind, even if he were either competent or presumptuous enough to do so. All that the present editor could venture to do was, to introduce a few verbal alteration and refer the reader, in the notes, to passages in those modern works from which additional information on the subjects in question may be gleaned. And while he justly claims for the venerable author the thanks of all Sanskrit scholars and students of eastern literature for having opened up new mines and struck out new paths, in which it was comparatively easy to those who came after him to make their way, he cannot refrain from deprecating the un-

generous criticism of some who, while they tacitly own him their master, as indeed must every Sanskrit scholar of the present day, consider it anything but a piece of self arrogation to lose no opportunity of calling him to task

The *Analysis of the Puranas* (Art I) was intended to have embraced all the eighteen Puránas, for which purpose Professor Wilson had made the most ample preparations (See the introductory remarks, Vol I p 5 7 and Journal Asiatique for 1860 Vol XVI, p 19) But after his analysis of the *Brahma and Padma Puranas* was published, the original plan seems to have been either abandoned or postponed, at any rate, nothing more has appeared, so that, with the analysis of four others previously published in India, the Agni, Brahma Vaivartta, Vishnu and Vayu, only the third part has actually been analyzed which is here reprinted Abstracts of the others, left in MSS may perhaps ere long follow In the mean time Professor Aufrecht's 'Catalogus Codicum MSS Sanscriticorum', and Professor Wilson's introduction and notes to his translation of the Vishnu Purana, especially with the important additions by Prof F E Hall will be found rich storehouses of information on the contents of the Puranas

The *Introduction to the Mahabharata* (Art IV) was intended to serve merely as a general outline of the leading story of that epic Since it was printed, Prof M Williams' useful and laborious book, entitled 'Indian epic poetry', has appeared to which the reader must be referred for a more detailed account (See also Prof M Williams' remarks, Pref p IV f Note)

The greater portion of Vols III and IV is taken up with analyses and translations of works of fiction, the most important of which is the Panchatantra H T Colebrooke was, we believe, the first who, in the introductory remarks to Carey s edition of the Hitopadesa (Serampore 1804) drew attention to this ancient collection of fables, which he had 'little hesitation in pronouncing to be the original text of the work, which was procured from India by Nushirvan more than 1200 years ago ' that work being the Pehlevi prototype of the Kalila wa Damna, or Fables of Pilpay In the 'Memoire historique" with which the late S de Sacy accompanied his edition of the Arabic text of the Kalila wa Damna (Paris 1816), the question of the sources of that book and its history is discussed in more full and accurate detail than by any of his more immediate predecessors, Weber, Dunlop, and Roebuck and it was chiefly by the perusal of this 'Memoire" that Professor Wilson s interest was stimulated to investigate the subject by making diligent use of all the means within his reach After giving an abstract of S de Sacy s researches, which was printed in Vol I of the Oriental Magazine (Calcutta 1823), p 493 506, he presented to the Royal Asiatic Society in the following year an *analytical Account of the Panchatantra* (Art VI) made from three MS copies of the Sanskrit original, and interspersed with translations, which was the more valuable not only as giving the first authentic and detailed information concerning that work itself, but also as embodying many collateral notices of similar stories

in the mediæval literature of western Europe whose origin he traced back to that Indian source In the history of Comparative Literature, in which Fiction forms one of the most attractive chapters, this treatise will ever deserve to hold a very important place inasmuch as all subsequent works on the same or kindred subjects have taken their stand upon it Among these may be mentioned L Deslongchamps' "Essai sur les Fables Indiennes et sur leur introduction en Europe , an estimate of which is contained in Art VII, Prof A Weber's essay on the connection of Indian with Greek fables (Indische Studien , Vol III, p 327 73), and above all Prof Th Benfey's Introduction to the Panchatantra, which forms the first volume of his translation of that work into German, and exhaustively treats of the history and migrations of the fables and stories appertaining to that cycle Many important contributions to the history of Fiction in Europe and Asia have also been made by the brothers Grimm F H von der Hagen A Keller, R Köhler, A Kuhn E Lancereau F Liebrecht, Edélestand du Méril, A Schiefner F W V Schmidt, Th Wright, and others but it will suffice here for us to have mentioned their names The Sanskrit text of the Panchatantra was edited by Kosegarten in the year 1848 and an edition of the more ornate and amplified recension was commenced by the same eleven years later, but interrupted by his death It is greatly to be hoped that it may not remain a fragment

The next great work of Hindu fiction which Professor Wilson made accessible to European readers is

the *Kathasaritsagara*, the largest collection of domestic narrative in India Out of the eighteen books of which it consists he gave first, partly in a free translation, partly in detailed summary, Books I-V (Art II), and subsequently also an abstract of the remaining books (Art. VII) It was by the former publication that the plan was suggested to Prof H Brockhaus of bringing out the Sanskrit text, with a faithful and elegant translation into German For the latter was substituted from the 6th book onwards a close analysis, which will be continued as the remainder of the text comes out

The *Dasakumaracharita* is the third work of Hindu fiction, with which Professor Wilson was the first to make us acquainted, in an English translation as well as subsequently in an annotated edition of the Sanskrit original, preceded by an introduction and summary (Art V and VIII) The former—which he termed Extracts from the Dasakumaracharita, but which comprises the whole of the printed text—has hitherto been all but unknown in Europe, and will be read with pleasure, the summary serving as a thread by which to find one s way through the intricacies of the different stories Since the publication of the text—another edition appeared at Calcutta in the year 1850—Prof Benfey translated the second chapter, corresponding to pp 189-210 in Vol IV, with valuable introductory remarks ("das Ausland , 1859, p 121 ff), Prof A Weber gave a full analysis of the work, with a literary introduction, in the "Monatsberichte der Königlichen Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin" for 1859, and

lastly, in the year 1862, Mons H Fauche published a French translation of the whole The same author s Kavyadarsa has recently been edited at Calcutta by Pandita Premachandra Tarkabágisa

The treatise on the *Medical and Surgical Sciences* of the Hindus (Art III) cannot be considered as superseded by later works, such as Royle's and Wise s, on the same subject, though these especially the latter enter more into detail, for the opinion and authority of a writer on such difficult and abstruse matters, who had the rare fortune of being able to combine with his knowledge of medicine an unrivalled acquaintance with Sanskrit is always entitled to the greatest deference

The lecture *on the art of war as known to the Hindus* (Art. IX) appears here for the first time in print, having probably been reserved by the author for future publication, that he might extend it and add to it the original text of the passages he translates and comments upon

On the translation of the *Meghaduta* (Art X) which appeared at Calcutta as early as 1813, the author s reputation as a Sanskrit scholar was founded A second edition came out in London after an interval of thirty years, with various alterations in the translation, and many omissions as well as a few additions in the notes Excellent critical remarks upon the text will be found in Prof C Schutz's annotated German translation of the poem

The review of Sir F Macnaghten's *Considerations on Hindu Law* (Art XI) is the only treatise in which

Prof Wilson has touched the province of jurisprudence, but it is no trespass or encroachment His exposition of difficult points of Hindu law, based on an intimate acquaintance both with the original sources, the Smritis and Commentaries, and the habits and traditions of the people, are of great value even now that the works of Sir W H Macnaghten, Sir T. Strange, Mr Morley and others have become standard authorities on Hindu law

The review of the first edition by A W von Schlegel of the *Bhagavadgita* (Art XII) appears to have remained unknown to all subsequent editors and translators of, and writers on, that philosophical poem In reprinting it we have omitted those few passages that have become needless by the emendations introduced into the second edition (by Lassen Bonn 1846)

Though the first edition of the *Sanskrit Dictionary* was published at Calcutta forty five years ago, no work has yet appeared to supersede the *preface* with which it was accompanied (Art XIII) Many contributions towards a history of Sanskrit lexicography have, indeed, since incidentally been made by Lassen, Roth Goldstücker, Weber Hall Westergaard Böhtlingk and others, but they are scattered over various works and periodicals so that a treatise on this branch of Indian literature, which should reflect the present state of Sanskrit scholarship, still remains a *desideratum* The author himself, who was more competent than any other to accomplish such a task, seems to have deferred it from time to time, for not only did he let the second edition (Calcutta 1832) appear without the Preface,

but even long subsequently, when he was asked to allow it to be reprinted for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, he declined to give his permission That, however, he had an intention of re writing it, may be inferred from a remark that occurs towards the end of the next Article (XIV), a *Notice of European grammars and lexicons of the Sanskrit language* At any rate, no considerations of the kind could prompt us to exclude it from these volumes, in which it will be welcomed by all students of Sanskrit literature who have not the rare first edition of the Dictionary within easy reach

The last Essay in this division the review of Prof M Muller s *History of ancient Sanskrit Literature*, was the last production of his fruitful pen it appeared in the Edinburgh Review some months after his death

Every apology is needed for the long interval of time which has been allowed to elapse since the publication of the first division of Professor Wilson s Works but for a long illness which incapacitated the editor for literary occupation for six months these volumes would in due course have succeeded the two previously published

St Augustine's College Canterbury
Nov 20 1863

R R

CONTENTS OF VOL I.

I

ANALYSIS OF THE PURANAS

From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol V (1838) p 61

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS *

THE earliest inquiries into the religion, chronology, and history of the Hindus, ascertained that there existed a body of writings especially devoted to those subjects, from which it was sanguinely anticipated much valuable and authentic information would be derived These were the *Puranas of Sanskrit literature*, collections which, *according to the definition of* a Purána agreeably to Sanskrit writers, should treat of the creation and renovation of the universe, the division of time, the institutes of law and religion, the genealogies of the patriarchal families and the dynasties of kings, and they, therefore, offered a prospect of our penetrating the obscurity in which the origin and progress of the Hindu social system had so long been enveloped A formidable difficulty, however, *presented itself in the outset, arising from the* voluminous extent of this branch of the literature of the

* [Vide supra Vol II, p 67 Lassen, Ind Alt IV 598]

Hindus, and the absence of all facilities for acquiring a knowledge of its nature. The Puranas are eighteen in number, besides several works of a similar class, called *Upa*, or minor, *Puranas*. The former alone comprehend, it is asserted, and the assertion is not *very far from the truth, four hundred thousand slokas*, or sixteen hundred thousand lines, a quantity which any individual European scholar could scarcely expect to peruse with care and attention, unless his whole time were devoted exclusively for very many years to the task. Nor was any plan, short of the perusal of the whole, likely to furnish satisfactory means of judging of their general character: few of them are furnished with anything in the shape of an index, or summary of contents, and none of them conform to any given arrangement, so that to know with accuracy what any one contains, *it is necessary to read the* entire work. The immensity of the labour seems to have deterred Sanskrit students from effecting even what was feasible, the publication or translation of one or two of the principal Puranas, and to the present day not one of them is accessible to the European public.*

The plan adopted by Sir William Jones and other Sanskrit scholars, in order to come at the contents of

* [*Since this was written Wilson's translation* with valuable notes of the Vishnu Pur., and Burnouf's edition and translation *of the greater part of the* Bhágavata P. have *appeared in Europe*, and the Márkandeya P., Vishnu P., part of the Garuda P., and at least four editions of the Bhagavata P. have been published in India.]

the Puránas with the least possible waste of their own time and labour, was the employment of Pandits to extract such passages as, from their report, appeared most likely to illustrate Hindu mythology, chronology, and history and they themselves then translated the extracts, or drew up a summary of the subjects to which they related The objections to this process are sufficiently obvious. The Pandits themselves are but imperfectly acquainted with the Puránas, they rarely read more than one or two, as the Bhágavata and Vishnu, and accordingly the extracts furnished by them are limited mostly to those authorities, especially to the former As the selection of the extracts was necessarily left to their judgment in a great measure, there was no security that they made the best choice they might have done, even from the few works they consulted Even if the passages were well chosen they were still unsatisfactory, for it was impossible to know whether they might not be illustrated or modified by what preceded or what followed, and however judiciously and accurately furnished, therefore, they were still but meagre substitutes for the entire composition

But a still more serious inconvenience attended this mode of procedure It was not always easy to determine whether the extracts were authentic Not to describe what was sought for, left the Pandit at a loss what to supply, to indicate a desire to find any particular information was to tempt him to supply it, even if he fabricated it for the purpose Of this the well-

known case of Colonel Wilford is a remarkable instance The inquirer, under these circumstances, was placed in a very uncomfortable dilemma, as he went to work upon materials which might either say too little or too much—might leave him without the only information that was essential, or might embarrass him with an abundance by which he was afraid to benefit

Detached portions of the Puranas were also of little or no value in another important respect They threw little light upon the literary history of those works, upon their respective date, and consequent weight as authorities It is true that none of the Puranas bear any dates but most of them offer occasionally internal evidence of their relative order to one another, or to other compositions, or to circumstances and events from which some conjecture of their antiquity may be formed Now if there be much difference in these respects amongst the Puranas if some be much more modern than others, if some be of very recent composition, they cannot be of equal weight with regard to the subjects they describe, or with relation to the past social and religious condition of the people of India How far, however, they are the writings of various and distant periods,—how far they indicate this dissimilarity of date, cannot be guessed at from a few detached passages, constituting a very insignificant portion of a very small part of their number

Unsatisfactory as to their information, questionable as to their authenticity, and undetermined as to their authority, Extracts from the Puranas are yet the only

sources on which any reliance can be placed for accurate accounts of the notions of the Hindus The statements which they contain may be of different ages, and relate to different conditions, but as far as they go they are correct pictures of the times to which they belong Recourse to oral authority, to the conversational information of ignorant and ill-instructed individuals, which constitutes the basis of most of the descriptions of the Hindus, published in Europe, is a very unsafe guide, and has led writers of undoubted talent and learning into the most absurd mistakes and misrepresentations From these they would be preserved by adhering to the Pauranik writers, but a full and correct view of the mythology of the Hindus, of their religion as it still exists, and of much of their real history, is only to be expected when the Puranas shall have been carefully examined and compared, and their character and chronology shall have been as far as possible ascertained

In order to effect the latter objects, as far as they might be practicable without the actual translation of the entire works, I adopted, several years ago, a plan for the particular examination of the contents of all the Puranas, which was carried into execution during the latter years of my residence in India Engaging the services of several able Pandits, I employed them to prepare a minute index of each of the Puranas This was not a mere catalogue of chapters, or sections, or heads of subjects, but a recapitulation of the subjects of every page and almost every stanza in

each page, being, in fact, a copious abstract in the safer form of an index It is necessary to call attention to this part of my task, the more particularly that it has been misconceived, and has been supposed to mean nothing more than such a summary as sometimes accompanies a Purana in the form of a list of the divisions of the work, and a brief notice of the topic of each The indices prepared for me were of a very different description, as the inspection of them will at once exhibit[1] These indices were drawn up in Sanskrit To convert them into English I employed several native young men, educated in the Hindu college, and well conversant with our language, and to them the Pandits explained the Summary which they had compiled The original and translation were examined by myself, and corrected wherever necessary When any particular article appeared to promise interest or information, I had that translated in detail, or translated it myself, in the former case, revising the translation with the original In this manner I collected a series of indices, abstracts, and translations of all the Puranas with one or two unimportant exceptions, and of the Mahabharata and Ramayana from which, if I am not much mistaken, a correct notion of the substance and character of these works may now be safely formed

[1] Besides copies in my own possession, one set was deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and another is placed in the library of the East India Company The index of the Mahabharata occupies four folio volumes

The shape in which these abstracts exist is, however, too voluminous and unsystematic to admit of their being published, or of being used with advantage, except by persons engaged in the especial study of their subjects In order to fit them for the perusal of those who wish to learn, conveniently as well as correctly, what the Puranas have to teach, it is necessary to reduce the summaries of their contents to a connected and accessible form, and to indicate the circumstances which illustrate their purport, authenticity, and date I have attempted to do this in a few scattered instances, and abstracts of the Vishnu, Vayu, Agni, and Brahma Vaivartta Puránas have been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I propose, however, now to go regularly through the whole series, in the order in which the Puranas are commonly arranged, and begin accordingly with the Bráhma Purána, which stands at the head of all the lists In this, as in any other abstract which I may offer to the Society, I wish it to be understood that I do not trust solely to the index, or the partial translation which I have described, however satisfied I may be of their general fidelity They are of great use as auxiliaries and guides, but the original is constantly before me, and nothing is stated except upon reference to the authority of the text I trust, therefore, that my abstracts may lay claim to as much confidence as anything, except actual translation, can be considered to deserve

---

I BRAHMA PURANA

THE Brahma Purana*, or Purana of Brahma, is the first of the eighteen Puránas, according to all the authorities, except the Pádma Purana, which, in the Patála Khanda or section, arrogates precedence to itself, and gives the second place to the Brahma This rather confirms than invalidates the usual specification, and the Brahma Purána may be regarded as the earliest of the series, at least in the estimation of the Pauranik writers According to Balambhatta, in his Commentary on the Mitakshara, it is consequently known by the name of Adi, or First Purana** It is also sometimes designated as the Saura Purána, as in part it treats of the worship of Surya, the sun Authorities generally agree in stating the extent of the Brahma Purana to be ten thousand stanzas The Agni Purana makes it twenty-five thousand, but is single in the enumeration The actual number, in two copies consulted on the present occasion, is about seven thousand five hundred There is, indeed, a work called the Uttara Khanda, or last section of the Brahma Purana, which contains about *three thousand* stanzas more, but it is commonly met with detached, and whether it be properly a part of the Purana to which it professes to belong, admits of question

The first verses of the Brahma Purana, forming an

---

* [See Aufrecht Catal Codd MSS Sanscr Bodl, I, 17 90 Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p xiv Note 3?, and xvi f]

** [Burnouf, Bhagav P, Vol I, p xviii].

address to Vishnu, under the appellations of Hari and Purushottama, sufficiently declare its sectarial bias, and indicate it to be a Vaishnava work It is not, however, included, in the classification of the Pádma Purána, amongst the Vaishnava works, but is referred to the Sákta class, in which the worship of Sakti, the personified female principle, is more particularly inculcated and in which the Rajasa property, or property of passion, is predominant[1]

After the invocation, it is said that the Rishis, seated at Naimisháranya, were visited by Lomaharshana the Suta, and the disciple of Vyasa, to whom in particular the Puranas were imparted The sages ask him to repeat to them an account of the origin, existence, and destination of the universe Accordingly he narrates to them the Brahma Purana, as it was repeated, he says, by Brahma, in reply to a similar request which was once made by Daksha and other patriarchs In this statement we have a variation of some importance, perhaps, to the authenticity of the text, for the Mátsya Purana asserts, that the Brahma Purana was communicated by Brahma to Marichi who although a patriarch, is a different person from Daksha and if accurately designated by the Matsya, shows, at least, a different reading in the copy consulted by the compiler of that work, and in those which are here followed

The first chapter of the Purana describes the crea

[1] Asiat Researches Vol XVI p 10 Note [above Vol I p 19]

tion, which it attributes to Nárāyana or Vishnu, as one with Brahma or Iswara. He makes the universe from the indiscrete cause which is one with matter and spirit, and the developement of which then proceeds conformably to the Sánkhya philosophy. The first product from Pradhána, the chief principle or base of all substance, is Mahat, the great or intellectual principle, whence proceeds Ahankara, conscious ness or individuality. From this are produced the rudiments of the elements, and from them are developed the gross or perceptible elements, of which water is the menstruum of the rest, and first sensible ingredient in the formation of the world. The appearance of Brahmá on the waters, and the actual manifestation of the system of the universe, are described in the same manner as in Manu, and partly in the same words. Indeed, in this, and in all the early as well as some of the latter chapters of this Purana, the words employed seem to be common to several of the Puranas, as will be particularly pointed out when we come to the parallel passages of the Vishnu Purana, and they appear to have been taken from some older work or works, from which the present Puranas are, probably, in part at least derived.

The birth of the first Manu Swayambhuva and his wife Satarupa, and their descendants to the origin of Daksha, from the Prachetasas by Marisha, are next described, and are followed by a brief notice of the birth of Daksha's daughters, and the multiplication of beings by the intercourse of the sexes. The next

chapter gives detailed accounts of the posterity of Daksha's daughters, especially of those wedded to Kasyapa, comprising gods, demigods, demons, men, animals, and plants; or, in a word, all creatures, real or fabulous. In the third chapter occurs the history of Prithu; and in the fourth, an account of the fourteen Manwantaras, or reigns of the Manus. We have then a particular account of the origin of Vaivaswata, the reigning Manu, and of his descendants, constituting the solar dynasty, or line of princes descended from the Sun, stopping in one copy with Vajranábha, but in the other proceeding to Vrihadbala, with whom the series usually closes. The princes of the lunar dynasty are then detailed to the period of the great war, and in the account of Krishna, the legend of his being accused of purloining a wonderful jewel is narrated at length. In all these details, which occupy fifteen chapters, the Bráhma Purana presents the same legends as are found in other Puráńas, except that they are in general more concisely told.

The same may be said of the next chapters, which contain brief descriptions of the divisions of the earth, and of the several Dwípas of which it consists, of Pátála, or the regions under the earth, and of the different hells; of the spheres above the earth, and the size and distances of the planets and constellations, and the influence of the sun and moon in producing rain and fertility. These extend to the twentieth chapter.

Part of the twentieth chapter takes up the subject

of Tírthas, or places to which pilgrimage should be performed, of which a few only are particularised, and the list is interrupted by a short *geographical description of Bhárata Varsha, or India Proper, its mountains, rivers, inhabitants, and merits The portion which may be considered as characteristic* of this Purana then commences, and relates particularly to the sanctity of Utkala, or Orissa, arising, in the first instance, from the worship of the Sun, in various forms, in that country, the description of which, including legendary accounts of the origin of the twelve Adityas, or children of Aditi, the wife of Kasyapa, and the story of Vaivaswata's birth from the Sun by his wife Sanjna, extends to the twenty-eighth chapter

The sanctity of Utkala continues, however, to constitute the subject of the book, forming the loosely connecting thread of a variety of legends, the scene of which is laid in the province Thus we have a description of the forest in Utkala called Ekamra, which is considered most holy from its being the favourite haunt of Siva, and this suggests the legend of Daksha's sacrifice, the birth of Uma as the daughter of Himálaya, and her marriage with Siva, the destruction and renovation of the Deity of Love, the disrespect shown by Daksha to Siva, and the punishment inflicted by the ministers of that deity upon the patriarch and his abettors The Ekamra wood it appears was the place to which Siva repaired after these

* [Wilson's Vishnu Pur p XXI, Note 34]

transactions, and hence its holiness It is so called, it is said, from a mango-tree (Amra) which flourished there in a former Kalpa or great age According to the description that follows the legends above mentioned in great detail, its circuit was filled with gardens, and tanks, and palaces, and temples, the latter dedicated to various Lingas, and it comprised many Tírthas, or holy spots, as Viraja, Kapila, and others Connected with it also was the tract sacred to Vishnu, or Purushottama Kshetra, which is next described, and then follows an account of Indradyumna, king of Avantí, by whom the temple of Vishnu was first erected at this spot, and the image of Jagannátha, made for him by Viswakarman, originally set up The proceedings of Indradyumna, on this occasion, are very fully narrated, and the account extends to the forty-sixth chapter

The text then passes rather abruptly to a conversation between Vishnu and the sage Márkandeya, at the season of the destruction of the world, in which Vishnu tells the Muni that he is identical with all things, and that Siva is the same as himself The especial object of the legend is, however, to account for the sanctity of a pool Purushottama Kshetra, called the lake of Markandeya, from its being attached to a temple with a Linga, erected by the Muni with the permission of Vishnu, bathing in which tank is a work of merit We have then notices of other pools, and of trees and temples, with legends concerning their origin, and directions for bathing, praying and

worshipping at various shrines. Copious instructions are given for the adoration of Purushottama or Jagannatha, Balaráma and Subhadra, and a legend of the image of the former is introduced, in which it is said, that it was originally made for Indra, but carried off from his capital, Amarávatí, by Rávana, that on the conquest of Lanká by Rama, he left it with Vibhishana, and that it was presented by him to Samudra (Ocean), by whom it was set up on the coast of Orissa

The advantages of living and dying at Purushottama Kshetra are then expatiated upon, and it is said that many Rishis, or sages, resided there at the recommendation of Brahma Amongst them was the sage named Kandu, and the mention of his name leads to a story of Pramlochá, the nymph of heaven, who was sent by Indra to interrupt Kandu's austerities, but became enamoured of him, and sojourned with him for many ages upon earth This story was translated by the late M Langles, and the translation forms the first article of the "Journal Asiatique" of the Asiatic Society of Paris

The praises of Vásudeva, or Krishna, introduce an account of some of the Avataras of Vishnu, of Brahma's origin from him, and the production and death of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha All this, however, is but preliminary to a narrative of the birth and actions of Krishna, including the usual legends of Balaráma, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, and ending with the death of Krishna and the destruction of Dwaraka These subjects extend from the sixty-fifth to the

eighty-sixth chapter, and are, not only in their purport, but in their very language, the same as those which are found in the fifth book of the Vishnu Purana

A series of chapters then ensues on Sraddhas, or obsequial sacrifices, on ceremonial and moral observances, on the duties of the several castes, and on the merit of worshipping Vishnu, especially at the Ekadasi, or eleventh day of the moon's increase, which topic is illustrated by several insipid legends These subjects occupy sixteen chapters We then have a particular detail of the divisions of time, and the duration and influence of the four Yugas, or ages, introductory to a description of the degeneracy of mankind in the last, or Kali age, and the periodical destruction of the world

When speaking of destruction, Vyasa to whom the character of narrator has been transferred in the course of the work, Lomaharshana only repeating what his master had formerly said, describes absolute and final destruction, or the eternal cessation of existent things, by the exemption of an individual himself from all existence, and this leads to a question from the sages as to the nature of Yoga, or the practice of that abstraction by which final liberation is secured In one copy of this Purana the answer is suspended by the abrupt insertion and evident interpolation of several chapters, in which an account of the solar dynasty of princes, from Vaivaswata to Rama, is repeated, and some notice is taken of the origin of

Soma, or the moon These chapters are, however, clearly out of place, and in another copy they are wanting, Vyása proceeding correctly to describe the means of obtaining emancipation With this view he gives a sketch of the Sankhya system of philosophy, first in his own words, and then in the words of the Muni Vasishtha, as addressed formerly to King Janaka, their conversation also contains a description of the practices of the *Yogí, as suppression of breath,* and particular postures, intended to withdraw his senses more completely from external objects After describing the condition of the Sáttwika, or perfect man, attained by these means, and his becoming identified with Vasudeva or Krishna, the work concludes with a *panegyric upon itself, and dwells on the* vast benefits derived by all classes of men from perusing it, or hearing it read

That this summary of the Brahma Purana faithfully represents its contents as it is ordinarily met with, may be inferred from the concurrence of the two copies consulted, *one belonging to myself, and one to* Mr Colebrooke In the Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris also, No V of the Devanagari MSS, although erroneously denominated Ráma Sahasra Nama, "the thousand names of Rama", an extract from the Brahma Purána, is a portion of that work, and comprehends the chapters which relate to the worship of the sun, and the sanctity of Purushottama Kshetra, concurring, therefore, as far as it goes, with the copies here analyzed It is

nevertheless obvious, that such a Bráhma Purana as has been here described, cannot have any pretension to be considered as an ancient work, as the earliest of the Puránas, or even as a Purána at all The first few chapters may have belonged to a genuine and an ancient composition, and some of the later sections may be regarded as not incompatible with the character of a Purána, but the greater portion of the work belongs to the class of Máhátmyas, legendary and local descriptions of the greatness or holiness of particular temples, or individual divinities The Brahma Puraṅa as we have it, is, for the most part, the Máhátmya or legend of the sanctity of Utkala or Orissa

Although the holiness of Utkala is owing especially to its including in its limits Purushottama Kshetra the country between the Vaitaraní and Rasakoila rivers, within which, on a low range of sand hills at Purí, stands the celebrated temple of Jagannáth, yet the Bráhma Purana also gives due honour to two other forms of Hindu superstition, to the worship of the sun, and that of Mahádeo in the same province, and this may assist us to some conjecture of the date of the work in its present form The great seat of the worship of Siva called Ekámra Kanana in our text, is now known as Bhuvaneswara, a ruined city consisting entirely of deserted and dismantled towers and temples, sacred to the worship of Mahádeo[1] The great

[1] Stirling Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack, Asiatic

temple was erected by Lalita Indra Kesari, Raja of Orissa, and was completed A D 657 At what period the worship declined, and the temples fell into decay, no where appears, but these events were no doubt connected with the ascendency of the adoration of Vishnu or Jagannath which probably began to flourish in its greatest vigour subsequently to the twelfth century

The worship of the Sun seems to have enjoyed a more modern prosperity, for the remarkable temple at Kanaraka known to navigators as the Black Pagoda was built by Raja Langora Narsinh Deo, A D 1241 It seems to have disputed for a season preeminence with the homage paid to Jagannath, for the temple of the latter divinity was constructed only forty-three years prior to the Black Pagoda, or in A D 1198 Jagannath however triumphed over his rivals, and the shrine of the Sun, and the temples of Mahádeo, are now alike in a state of ruin this could not have been the case when the Brahma Purana celebrated their glories, and they would appear, at the time when the Purana was compiled, to have divided the veneration of the Hindus with their more fortunate competitor The internal evidence which the work offers, therefore, renders it exceedingly probable, that it was composed in the course of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or after the worship of Jagannatha

Researches Vol XVI The local particulars in the text are entirely derived from this admirable document

predominated, but before Siva and the Sun had fallen into utter disrepute

The work which is called the *Uttara Khanda*, or "Last portion" of the Bráhma Purána, is, as has been observed, always met with in a detached form, and as an independent composition The subjects of which it treats, are also *of a character wholly dissimilar from* those of the Brahma Purana, and it is very obvious that there is no connexion between the two If there be *any* Purva Khanda, *or prior section of the Bráhma* Purana, of which the Uttara Khanda is a continuation, it must be something very different from the work *of which the preceding summary has been given*

The Uttara Khanda of the Bráhma Purana consists of thirty-seven chapters, containing about three thousand *stanzas It is repeated by Saunaka to Satanika,* as it was formerly narrated by Agastya to Supratíka, a sage It so far merits the denomination of Brahma *Purána, that it has Brahma for its hero commencing* with his incestuous passion for Saraswatí, and the birth of a son, Sumridíka in consequence Sumridíka, being offended with his parent, creates, by arduous penance, the brood of Asuras or Titans, by whom the gods are defeated, and Brahma is expelled from heaven Brahma, however, by propitiating Siva, is restored to his dignity and power, and employs Viswakarman to build for him the city Drisyapura on the banks of the Balaja river, the glory and sanctity of which stream it is the main purport of the work to panegyrize

The Uttara Khanda of the Brahma Purána, then, is nothing more than a Mahátmya of the Balaja river, but where the Balaja river flows, or where the city of Drisyapura is situated, are matters to be decided only by future inquiry. The work itself affords no geographical intimations, except that the scene of Brahma's penance and sacrifice, in propitiation of Siva, and of various forms of his goddess, Deví or Umá, is laid in the north. Drisyapura means merely the 'beautiful city', and other appellations given to it are derived from legends peculiar to this work, and afford no help in its verification. The Balaja river is called also the Brahma hrada, "the lake of Brahma", from his having performed penance on its borders, and Banandsi, "the destroyer of arrows", having cured the gods when wounded by the shafts of the demons. As personified, the stream is on one occasion identified with Nandiní or Sakambharí Deví, and the latter goddess is the tutelary divinity of Sambher, and other places in Rajputana[1]. The lake of Brahma might be thought to refer to the celebrated lake of Pushkara, where is still the only shrine known in India to be dedicated to Brahmá, but the Balaja is always described as a river, a great river, a Mahanadí, not a lake: the name means "Strength-born", the stream being produced by the power of the gods, an appellation that offers no aid in discovering its direction, and no such name occurs in the ancient or

[1] Tod's Rajasthan, Vol II, p 445

modern geography of India In Bananasa, however, we have in all probability the original of Banas, or Bunass, a river rising in Marwár, and flowing into the Chambal, and the Uttara Khanda of the Brahma Purana is therefore most probably the local legend of some temple in Central India, which is now in ruins, and the memory of which has passed away There is nothing in the record that survives, of interest or importance, as it is made up chiefly of accounts of battles between the gods and demons, and praises of the holiness of the river, intermixed with puerile legends of local invention, and thinly interspersed with others belonging to the general body of Pauranik fiction

The Uttara Khanda of the Brahma Purana is not to be confounded with the Brahmottara Khanda, a section of the Skanda Purana

From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol V (1838) p 280

II PADMA PURÁNA

The *Padma Purana*, which in the Pauranik lists occupies the second place, and in its own enumeration the first, is a work of considerable extent, according to the best authorities, and to its own statements, it consists of fifty-five thousand slokas, and the copies that are current actually contain little less than that number, or about 50,000

The Padma Purana occurs in various portions—according to its own text in five—the first of which treats of the appearance of Virát or Brahmá, and primary creation, it is termed the Paushkara, or *Srishti Khanda* The second describes the formation and divisions of the earth, and various places of pilgrimage, whence it is called the Bhúmi, or Tírtha Khanda The third contains an account of the regions above the earth, and of some celebrated princes, and is called the Swarga Khanda The genealogies of princes are comprised in the fourth part, and the fifth, containing the Brahma Gíta, explains the means by which moksha, or final emancipation, may be attained This is the specification of the divisions of the Purana which is given in the first chapter of the Srishti Khanda, but it is not very exactly applicable to the work as it occurs The three first portions are rightly denominated the Srishti, Bhúmi, and Swarga Khandas, but the fourth is called the Patala Khanda, from its opening with a description of Patála, the regions under the earth, and the fifth, or Uttara Khanda, is by no means restricted to philosophical discussion There is current, however, a sixth division, the Kriyá Yoga Sára, which treats of the practice of devotion, and more nearly corresponds to the definition of the fifth portion given in the text

The Paushkara, or *Srishti Khanda* consists of forty-six chapters and about 8500 stanzas Lomaharshana, the disciple of Vyása, sends his son Ugrasravas the Súta to Naimisháranya, to relate the Puránas to

Saunaka and other Rishis assembled at that place At Saunaka's request he communicates to them that Purana, which, from its containing an account of the lotus (*Padma*), whence *Brahmá* appeared in order to create the world is termed the Pádma Purana Suta, in replying, proclaims also his right by birth and profession to narrate the Puranas, which were in the present Kalpa imparted by Vishnu in the Matsya avatara to Brahma, and by him to the gods in the first instance, and in the second to Lomaharshana, by Vyasa, who was *a form of Brahma* We have here also the assertion that the Puránas consisted originally of 100 kotis a thousand million of stanzas, of which 400 000 were *thought sufficient for the instruction of* man—the rest being preserved by the gods Suta then recapitulates all that he purposes to narrate to the Rishis, the whole of which he says was formerly *imparted by Brahma to his will begotten son* the patriarch Pulastya by whom it was related at Ganga dwara to Prince Bhíshma, in fact, therefore, Pulastya is the person to whom this portion of the Padma Purana is properly to be ascribed

Pulastya at the request of Bhishma, instructs him how the universe was framed The process is as usual in the Puranas that of the Sánkhya philosophy, or from the eternal Pradhana proceed successively Mahat, Ahankara, the senses, the rudimental elements, and the gross elements, to which is superadded the egg of creation, as in Manu Creation, however, is the will and act of the uncreated supreme Brahma,

who takes the form of Purusha, and in that character infuses into Prakriti the germ of activity Brahma is, in his various functions, Brahma, Vishnu, and Śiva, but there is a peculiarity in this chapter which deserves notice the different Puranas commonly identify either Vishnu or Siva with the Supreme, but in this part of the Padma, Brahma and Brahmá, the instrument and first cause of creation, are represented as the same, the primeval, excellent, beneficent, and supreme Brahma, in the form of Brahmá and the rest, is the creation and the creator, preserves and is preserved, devours and is devoured, the first immaterial cause being, as is common in the pantheism of the Puranas also the material cause and substance of the universe, notwithstanding, however, the character here given to Brahmá, the *Pádma Purána* is, according to its own classification, a Vaishnava Purana, and deserves that character by its frequent intimation of the supremacy of Vishnu

The third chapter contains an account of the divisions of time, from an instant to the life of Brahma, conformably to the usual Pauránik chronology, and in words common to different Puránas This is introductory to the renewal of creation, after a night of Brahma, when that deity, in the character of Vishnu, assumed the form of a boar, and having placed the earth upon the waters, created its several divisions, and peopled them with animate and inanimate beings We have then another detail of the creation, rather of a mystical description, in which the different orders

of beings proceed from modified conditions of the body of Brahmá These not multiplying, Brahma produces the Prajapatis from his will, then the Rudras, then Swáyambhuva Manu, whose daughters, Akuti and Prasuti, married to Daksha and Ruchi, give birth to daughters, who are espoused to the Rishis, forming the earlier patriarchal families, which are evidently nothing more than an allegorical representation of the institution of moral obligations and ceremonial rites by certain holy personages, the first teachers of the Hindu religion All these details occur in the same order, and in essentially the same words, in the early chapters of the Vishnu Purana*

The same identity continues with regard to the origin of Lakshmí from the churning of the ocean, but the parallel is then suspended by the introduction of the story of Daksha's sacrifice, which is narrated at some length We have then an account of the family of the second Daksha as in the Vishnu and other Puranas—short notices of the several Manwantaras—the story of Vena and Prithu—the origin of Vaivaswata and the descendants of the sun in the line of Ikshwáku to Srutayus who it is said was killed in the great war The genealogy of this chapter is little else than a string of names, and agrees with that given in the Kurma and Matsya Puranas better than with that of the Vishnu

Bhíshma then requests to be informed of the origin

* [p 53 ff]

and nature of the *Pitris*, *or progenitors of mankind*, in reply to which, Pulastya describes the Sraddha, or offerings to deceased ancestors, and the merits of its celebration, particularly at Gaya These subjects, illustrated by the story of Brahmadatta, as it occurs also in the Hari Vansa*, occupy three chapters, from the ninth to the eleventh inclusive The two next chapters contain an account of the dynasty of lunar princes to the time of Krishna and his immediate posterity, rather more in detail than the solar genealogy, but the same in substance as in other Puránas

We have next a series of legends relating to the wars between the gods and Titans or Asuras, which, *although not restricted to the Padma Purana*, are in some degree peculiar in their order and details The Asuras are described as enjoying the ascendency over *the Devatás, when Vrihaspati, taking advantage of* their leader Sukra's being enamoured of a nymph of heaven, sent by Indra to interrupt his penance, comes *amongst the former as Sukra, and misleads them into* irreligion by preaching heretical doctrines, the doctrines and practices he teaches are Jain, and in a *preceding passage it is said that the sons of Raji embraced* the Jina Dharma—notices which are of some value with regard to the age of the compilation

An inquiry into the cause of the enmity that prevailed between the two heroes, Karna and Arjuna, suggests a curious legend of a quarrel between Brahmá

* [illegible]

and Siva, in which a being born from the perspiration of the former puts the latter to flight Siva repairs to Vishnu, who offers to put alms into Siva's dish, when Siva pierces the hand of Vishnu, and the blood that flows in consequence fills the Kapala, and becomes a Nara, a man—the saint Nara in another birth, and Arjuna in another Brahma's progeny becomes in a succeeding existence Karna, and hence the hostility of the two, the legend considering them evidently as types of the followers of Brahma and of Siva in a contest for superiority The same notion of a struggle between the two sects prevails in what follows The lustre of Brahmá's fifth head excites the envy of the gods, and Siva, at their suggestion, tears it off To expiate the crime of injuring a Brahman, Siva, by the advice of Vishnu, repairs to various Tírthas, and this leads to the Pushkara Mahatmya or the description of the holiness of Pushkara or Pokhar Lake near Ajmír, *a subject that more or less pervades the rest* of the Srishti Khanda from *the fifteenth chapter to* the end

The praises of Pushkara, instructions for bathing and worshipping there, and the efficacy or gifts and sacrifices performed at this sacred spot, are abundantly interspersed with legends, some peculiar *to the* work and to the subject, and others belonging *to the* general body of tradition and mythology, but rather arbitrarily connected in the *Padma Purana* with the sanctity of Pushkara *Of the former class we have* Brahmá's throwing *down a lotus (Pushkara) from*

heaven, whence the name of the place where it fell; his performing a solemn sacrifice there, his marriage with Gayatri, the displeasure of his former bride Sávitri, in consequence of which she denounced imprecations on all the gods and Brahmans, the metamorphosis of King Prabhanjana to a tiger, and his liberation, the fidelity of the cow Nandá, and her elevation to heaven, and similar stories, some of which are curious, but most puerile. Of fictions which are to be found in several other Puránas, we have the death of Vritrasura by Indra's vajra, or thunderbolt, formed of the bones of the sage Dadhíchi, and Agastya's humbling the Vindhya mountain, drinking up the ocean, and destroying the Asuras who had sought refuge beneath its waters. The bed of the ocean was afterwards replenished by King Bhagíratha when he brought the Ganges from heaven.

The subjects that next occur are Vratas, or acts of self-denial and devotion, to be performed on particular occasions, as on the third lunation of each month in the year, when worship is to be addressed to some form or other of Gauri, either with or without her consort Siva, also on certain specified days, as the Vibhuta Dwádasí, Visoka Dwádasí, Kalyana Saptamí, Bhaumí Ekádasí, and others, illustrated as usual by legends, amongst which the birth of Vasishtha and Agastya occurs, and the story of the latter's drinking the ocean is repeated as introductory to the efficacy of worshipping Agastya at Pushkara Tírtha. *Markandeya Muni's going in pilgrimage to Pushkara gives*

dissolution, during which Narayana, sleeping upon the waters, is beheld by Markandeya Muni, who, by desire of the deity, enters the celestial body, and beholds in it all existent things This legend occurs in several Puranas, particularly in that which bears the name of the Muni* Brahma, then becoming manifest from a golden lotus creates the world and its divisions out of the several parts of the lotus, whence this period of creation is called the Padma Kalpa After the formation of the world, and the destruction of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha who sought to destroy Brahma, by Vishnu, the work proceeds as before, through the intervention of the mind-engendered Prajapatis, the daughters of Daksha, and progeny of Kasyapa The concluding chapters describe the wars of the gods and demons, the destruction of Maya and Kálanemi by Vishnu, and the birth of Skanda for the destruction of Taraka, the overthrow and death of the demon, and Skanda's marriage with Devasená "Then," concludes Suta, "Pulastya departed, and Bhíshma having become filled with true knowledge, returned to his government of Hastinapura" A final chapter contains a tolerably copious index of the contents of the Srishti Khanda

Bhumi Khanda The second division of the Pádma Purana is of much the same extent as the first, containing about 7500 stanzas, which are distributed amongst 133 short chapters It opens with a question

* [Mark Pur 47]

put by the Rishis to Suta, how it happened that Prahráda, or Prahláda, a daitya, and natural enemy of the gods, could have been inspired with the devotion he entertained for Vishnu, and finally united with that deity Suta replies by stating, that the same question had been formerly asked of Brahma by Vyasa, and he repeats Brahmá's answer as Vyasa had communicated it to him which is a narrative of Prahláda's birth and actions in a preceding kalpa This allusion to Prahláda, it may be observed, without any preliminary details, implies a knowledge of his history, which can only be derived from some earlier work, what this may have been, it is not very possible to ascertain, as the legend occurs in several Puranas, and mention is made of Prahlada in the Mahabharata For his character, however, of a devout worshipper of Vishnu, the Vishnu Purána and Bhagavata are the especial authorities*

In order to account for Prahláda's eminence as a Vaishnava, Suta repeats a story of Sivasarman, a Brahman of Dwaraka, who had five sons, equally remarkable for their piety and filial devotion The latter is put to the test in various ways by their father, and being proof against every trial, the father and the four elder sons are united after death with Vishnu, Somasarman, the fifth son, was also desirous of the same elevation, and was engaged at Salagrama Kshetra

* [Vishnu Pur I 17 20 Bhagav Pur VII, 4 6. See Burnouf's Pref ad Vol III, p viii ff Lassen Ind Alt IV, 582 f]

in that contemplation on Vishnu which it is the great object of this part of the Padma Purana to inculcate as the most efficacious means of union with the divinity, as it is here said, "The imperishable state is not obtained by sacrifice, by penance, by abstract meditation by holy knowledge, but by thinking upon Vishnu the destroyer of Madhu is not beheld through gifts or through pilgrimage but through the union that is effected by intense contemplation the Brahman enters the state of Vishnu by the road of profound mental identification' Whilst Somasarman is endeavouring to effect this coalescence, an alarm spreads through the hermitage that the Daityas are approaching, and a loud clamour ensues, which distracts his thoughts, and fills his mind with fear of the foes of the gods, he dies whilst under these apprehensions, and is consequently born again as a member of that race which engrossed his last thoughts He is born as Prahlada, the son of Hiranyakasipu, a daitya, but from the influence of his former life a worshipper of Vishnu In the war between the gods and demons, however, he takes part with his family, and is killed by the discus of Vishnu He is again born of the same parents and with the same name, and is then the Prahlada who is the hero of the usual story, the pious son of an impious father, the latter of whom was destroyed by Vishnu in the Nrisinha, or man lion avatára, and the former was raised to the rank of Indra for his life, and finally united with Vishnu The Padma Purana, therefore, in borrowing the subject of this legend from

other sources, has added to it circumstances peculiar to itself, evidently of sectarial tenor, and comparatively recent invention

The elevation of Prahláda to the rank of king of heaven—a dignity which no other Puránas assign him although they make him monarch over a division of Pátála—suggests to the Rishis an inquiry into the nature of celestial dominion, and upon whom and by whom it is conferred, and this introduces a legend of the birth of a king of the gods, or Indra, as the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi, in consequence of a boon to that effect promised to Aditi by Vishnu Kasyapa's other wives, Diti and Danu, the mothers of the Daityas and Dánavas, feeling mortified at the inferiority of their children to those of their sister-wife Aditi, Kasyapa, in order to console them enters upon a long philosophical disquisition upon the nature of body and soul The discussion is conducted in the form of an allegory, in which the Senses endeavour to negotiate a perpetual alliance with Soul and Soul after several vain struggles to evade all connexion with the Senses, at last escapes from them altogether by the aid of meditation

After describing the determination of the chief Daityas to raise themselves to a level with the gods by arduous penance, the Rishis rather abruptly ask Suta to tell them the story of a Brahman called Suvrata, the son of Somasarman and Sumanas, who was a devoted worshipper of Vishnu, and who became, therefore, in a future birth, Indra, the son of Kasyapa

and Aditi The legend is an insipid sectarial fiction, but contains some curious matter, especially regarding virtue and vice, the reward of the former and punishment of the latter after death, the road to the judgment seat of Yama, his appearance, and the tortures to which sinners are condemned The text then reverts to the austerities of the demons, and particularly those of Hiranyakasipu, which compel Brahma to grant him a boon that he shall not be slain by any living creature, it therefore becomes necessary for Vishnu to destroy him in the non-descript form of the Nrisinha, whilst in the Avatara of the boar, he puts to death Hiranyaksha and other demons These events are briefly referred to, and are but introductory to a longer legend of the birth of Vritra, the son of Diti, for the destruction of Indra, and of his being circumvented and slain by the deity We have then the story of Indra's cutting to pieces another offspring of Diti, destined to be his foe whilst yet in the womb, and thus giving rise to the forty nine Maruts or winds

In like manner as Indra was made king of the gods, different persons or things were appointed by Brahma supreme over their respective orders of beings, and amongst these, the list of which conforms with that which occurs in other Puranas, Prithu, the son of Vena, was made monarch of the earth This leads to the story of Vena and Prithu, which is narrated in the usual manner and customary words, but a supplement is added to the legend of Vena, which is peculiar to this Purana According to this, Tunga, the son of

Atri, having propitiated Náráyańa, by penance, obtained a son equal to Indra; this son was Vena, who was made by the Ŕishis the first king of the earth; he commenced his reign auspiciously, but lapsing into the Jaín heresy, the sages deposed him and pummelled him until the Nishída, or progenitor of the wild races, was extracted from his left thigh, and Prithu from his right arm. *Being freed from sin by the birth of the* Nisháda, Veńa retires to the banks of the Narmadá, where he performs penance in honour of Vishnu, who appears to him, and reads him a lecture on the merit of gifts of various kinds, especially at different holy places or Tírthas. But persons are also considered as Tírthas, as a Guru, a father, a wife; and in illustration of this latter, Vishnu tells a story of Sukala, the wife of a Vaisya, who, having gone on a pilgrimage, leaves Sukala in great affliction: her female friends come to console her, and their conversation includes many precepts for the conduct of women, exemplified by narratives. Sukala continuing to mourn for her absent lord, Kamadeva and Indra attempt to seduce her from her faith, but are foiled, and she remains faithful to her husband, who returns from pilgrimage, and receives blessings from heaven in recompense of the virtues of his wife.

Another series of tales is recited by Vishnu, in illustration of a parent's being a Tírtha, or holy shrine. It commences with an account of the filial piety of Sukarman, the son of Kuńd́ala, a Brahman of Kurukshetra, but branches off into several other

stories one of the most remarkable of these is a narrative, of which the original is to be found in the Mahabhárata* that of Yayati's transferring his infirmities to his son Puru It is embellished, however, in this place, with much additional matter, and begins with Yayati's being *invited* by Indra *to* heaven, and *being conveyed on the way thither by* Matali, Indra's charioteer A *philosophical conversation takes place* between the king and Matali, in which the imperfection of all corporeal existence, and the incomplete felicity of every condition of life are discussed These attributes belong, it is said, even to the gods themselves, for they are affected with disease, subject to death, disgraced by the passions of lust and anger, and are consequently instances of imperfection and of misery Various degrees of vice are then described, and their prevention or expiation are declared to be the worship of Siva or Vishnu, between whom there is no difference, they are but one, as is the case indeed with Brahmá also, for "Brahma, Vishnu, and Maheswara, are one form, though three gods there is no difference between the three the difference is that of attributes alone " The result of the conversation is, that Yayati returns to earth, where, by his virtuous administration, he renders all his subjects exempt from passion and decay Yama complains that men no longer die, and Indra sends Kamadeva and his daughter

* [I 3157 ff Bhagav Pur IX, 18 f Vishnu Pur IV 10. Cf Lassen, Ind Alt. I, Anhang I, xviii]

Asruvindumati to endeavour to excite passion in the breast of Yayáti, they succeed, and it is in order to become a fit husband for the latter that the aged king applies to his sons to give him their youth in exchange for his decrepitude As elsewhere related, they all refuse, except Puru, the youngest After a time, however, Yayáti is prevailed upon by the persuasion of his young bride, at the instigation of Indra, to go to heaven, on which he restores his youth to Puru, and proceeds with his subjects to Indra who sends them to Siva, and he directs them to Vishnu, in whose sphere they obtain a final abode

We then come to a series of narratives in illustration of the assertion that a Guru or spiritual preceptor, is a Tirtha Chyavana the son of Bhrigu wandering over the world in pilgrimage comes to the south bank of the Narmadá where a Linga, called Omkara is erected and having worshipped it he sits under an Indian fig tree where he overhears a conversation between Kunjara an old parrot and his four sons, in which the latter relate to the former what they have beheld in their flight during the day Several stories are narrated, the moral of which is the same, the good effects of venerating holy men, and meditating upon Vishnu In the course of them, the efficacy of various holy places in expiating sin is described, and in one of the stories it appears that the Ganges, the lake Manasa, Prayága, Pushkara, and Benares, are of less sanctity than the river Reva or Narmadá in various parts of its course, as at the con

fluence of the Kubja, Kapila, Meghanada, and Chichuka, at Sangamra, Bhrigukshetra, Mahishmati, Srikantha and Mandaleswara, places which are little known beyond their immediate vicinity, and of which the specification indicates the local origin of this part at least of the Purana. One long narrative is peculiar to the work, and relates to the destruction of the demon Tunda by Nahusha, the son of Ayus, and the marriage of the latter with Asokasundari, the daughter of Parvati. We have also an account of the destruction of Vitunda the son of Tunda, by Bhagavati herself. Kunjara then relates to Chyavana an account of the preceding births of his sons and himself.

After this, Vishnu desires Vena to demand a boon and he solicits to be incorporated with the deity; Vishnu tells him first to celebrate an Aswamedha after which the king shall become one with himself, and he then disappears. The conversation between Vena and Vishnu extends from the fortieth to the end of the one hundred and eighteenth chapter.

Prithu enables his father Vena to consummate the sacrifice, by which he is united to Vishnu and this incident illustrates the efficacy of a son considered as a Tírtha. The Jangama, or moveable Tirthas, being thus disposed of, Suta proceeds, in the words of Vyasa, to describe the Sthavara, the fixed or geographical Tirthas. The principal of those that are named are Pushkara, Mahákála, the Narmada, the Charmanvatí or Chambal, Arbuda or Abu, Prabhasa, the confluence of the Saraswati with the ocean, Dwaravati, and the

mouths of the Indus, the Vitasta river, the source of the Devika, Kamakhya in Asam, and Kurukshetra There are many others, most of which are now unknown one called Rámahrada, the lake of Rama introduces the familiar legend of Parasuráma, and his destruction of the warrior race, which is told in the usual strain, but more concisely than in some other works The subject of Tirthas continues to the end of the hundred and twenty-seventh chapter

In the next chapter the compiler seems to have recollected the purport of the appellation of this part of the Padma Purana, and the Rishis ask Suta to give them a description of the earth, in reply, he repeats an account attributed to the great serpent Sesha, and related by him to Vatsyayana and other sages assembled at the coronation of Vasuki as king of the serpent race, in which the seven Dwípas, or insular zones, that form the earth, and the Lokaloka mountain which surrounds the whole, are described in the usual manner In the account of Jambu-dwípa we have the usual details concerning the several Varshas, and mountains that separate them and Mount Meru and its surrounding elevations The details, however, are not very particular or full, and are exclusively of a mythological character

The last chapter of this khanda, as well as that of the Srishti khanda, contains a tolerably copious index

Swarga Khanda The third division of the Padma Purana consists of about 4000 stanzas in forty chapters it carries on the dialogue between Sesha and the Rishis

with which the previous portion concluded, and which Suta continues to repeat.

Vatsyayana having asked Sesha to give him and the other Munis a description of the regions above the earth, the snake god replies by referring to a conversation on this subject between a messenger of Vishnu and King Bharata. The mention of the latter suggests to Vatsyayana to inquire into his history; and the first five chapters of the work are appropriated to the narrative of Sakuntala and Dushyanta, in which the drama of Kalidasa is evidently the authority that has been followed. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, after reigning with glory, becomes a worshipper of Vishnu, in consequence of which Sunanda, a servant of the deity, is sent to convey the king, after his resigning his crown to his son, to Vaikuntha. On the way Bharata asks him to give him an account of the regions which they traverse, and Sunanda accordingly describes to him the situation and extent of the different Lokas or spheres above the earth. The same contrivance occurs in other works, and especially in the Kasi Khanda of the Skanda Purana, from which possibly the idea has been borrowed.

The atmosphere, planetary regions, heaven and the four upper worlds, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya are noticed briefly in the usual manner, and above these is placed Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, according to this authority. Recurring to the subject, Sunanda then proceeds to describe in detail the subdivisions of these super-terrene realms, the Lokas or

spheres, inhabited by various orders of beings as the Bhutas, Pisáchas, Gandharbas, Vidyádharas, and Apsarasas, adverting also to the circumstances which people these aerial districts, or obtain for mortals a place in them after death When describing the Apsaraloka, Sunanda relates the story of Pururavas and Urvasí after the ordinary Paurańik fashion, with the addition that Pururavas by worshipping the Gandharbas, obtained a residence with Urvasí in the sphere of the nymphs, and that Bharata, by transferring to him the merit of all the sacrifices he had performed in honour of Vishnu, enabled him to proceed to Vaikuntha

We have then accounts of the Lokas of the sun, Indra, Agni, Yama, the Dikpalas, Varuna, Vayu, interspersed with stories At the Loka of Kuvera an account of the origin of Ravana, and his expelling Kuvera from Lanká is related The lunar sphere or Loka of Soma, affords occasion for the usual legends of the birth of Soma and of Budha, of Daksha's cursing Soma to be afflicted with consumption, as the punishment of his neglecting all his wives except one Rohiní, and his consequent alternations of increase and wane In like manner the Loka of Saturn introduces the story of his birth from the wife of the sun, and that of Dhruva suggests the legend of Dhruva's adoration of Vishnu, and his elevation to the dignity of the Polar Star After rising above this sphere, and passing by the upper Lokas, which are again briefly described, Bharata is carried by Sunanda to Vaikuntha

Vatsyayana then asks Sesha to tell him what princes of the solar and lunar races, who were celebrated when on earth for their religious acts, were raised to heaven Sesha in reply repeats several narratives, which seem to be preserved in their most ancient and authentic form in the Ramayana and Mahabhárata, and to have been thence transferred to the Puranas with various degrees of detail and modification In this work they are narrated at length, and embellished occasionally with additions, which are evidence of a corrupt taste and of a comparatively recent date The narratives are Sagara's exploits and sacrifice, the death of his sons by Kapila's wrath, the birth of Bhagiratha and his bringing Ganga upon earth, the origin of the demon Dhundhu, here called the son of Madhu, and his destruction by Kuvalayaswa, thence termed Dhundhumara the generosity of King Sivi in offering his own flesh to rescue a pigeon from the gripe of a hawk, the birds being in fact Indra and Agni, who had assumed their shape to put the benevolence of Sivi to the test, his further trial by Brahma, the sacrifice of Marutta, Divodasa's reign at Kasi, Siva's regaining possession of that sacred city, and the birth and piety of Mandhatri

At an Aswamedha performed by Mándhatri, the king is visited by Narada, and a conversation takes place, in which the sage gives a brief description of the course of creation conformably to the Sankhya tenets Speaking of the origin of the four castes, Narada explains their respective obligations, and then

proceeds to the duties of the different *asramas* or periods of life Under the last order, he expounds the nature of yoga, practical and speculative, or Karma yoga and Jnána yoga He then details the Sadacharas, or daily observances, incumbent on all classes of men, ceremonial, purificatory, moral, and devotional The latter are, of course, to be addressed especially to Vishnu, and to the types of him, the principal of which is the Salagráma stone, or Ammonite, without which, it is said, worship should not be offered This fossile is said to be the present Vishnu with his discus, and to drink of the water in which it has been immersed is described as a sure means of obtaining emancipation during life, and being united with Vishnu after death Great efficacy is also ascribed to sectarial marks which are to be made after bathing, and before all religious rites, on the top of the arms, the chest, the throat, and the forehead The merit of fasting on the *ekadasí* or eleventh lunation and the heinous crime of eating on a day sacred to Vishnu are then pointed out, and the whole offers a sufficiently decisive indication of the character of the compilation as a purely sectarial work

Several sections are then devoted to a description of the things that may or may not be eaten, to modes and times of dressing and anointing the person, to postures in which it is proper to sit or lie on different occasions, to the crime of slandering a venerable person, on which it is observed that Siva is excluded from all share in oblations, on account of his dis-

respectful conduct towards his father-in-law, Daksha, to lucky and unlucky omens, to actions proper and improper, according to particular seasons, to the favourable characteristics of a wife, and to a variety of injunctions and prohibitions

Mandhatri's asking Nárada if he had ever known any person who had lived a hundred years, a *singular question* by the way for a monarch to put, who, according to Pauranik tradition, lived at a period when a reign of many thousand years was no rarity, Nárada tells him a tale of Brâhmaketu, son of Viśwaketu, king of Dravida, who was doomed to die in his sixteenth year, but who, by advice of Angiras, went to Benares, *and lay down in the path of Yama, when on a* visit to Siva Yama, who never deviates from a straight path and even an equal step, and could, therefore, neither walk round Brahmaketu, nor stride over him, at last, to induce him to rise, promised to allow him to live a century, which accordingly happened There *is an underplot of Brahmaketu's marrying the daughter* of the king of Kampilya, in lieu of the hunchbacked son of the king of Kekaya, which has some resemblance to a story in the Arabian nights

Mandhatri next asks Narada to explain to him what *he meant by Siva's ill-behaviour to his father-in-law*, on which Narada relates the story of Daksha's sacrifice, much in the usual strain, but concisely, and making no mention of Vishnu amongst the guests Daksha also is permitted to complete the rite, the head of a goat being *substituted* for his own, which he had lost in the affray

In reply to other questions put by Mandhatri, Narada describes the actions by which an individual is sentenced to heaven or hell, the Brahmans who are entitled to gifts and to respect, the necessity of regal government, the consequences of a good or evil administration, the duties of kings, the succession and duration of the four Yugas, and the temporary dissolution of the world Narada then takes leave of the king, and goes to the heaven of Indra A somewhat abrupt introduction of the Muni Saubhari and his marriage with the daughters of Mandhatri then occurs, after which the king completes his sacrifice and goes to heaven, with which the series of narratives terminates The last chapter is an index of the contents of the Bhumi Khanda

The *Patala Khanda* of the Padma Purana contains 102 chapters and about 9000 stanzas It commences with a continuation of the dialogue between Vatsyayana and Sesha, in which the snake god describes the different regions of Pátala

The first, Atala, is subject to Mahamaya Vitala the second, to a form of Siva, called Hatakeswara, the third, Sutala, to Bali, who, on one occasion, made Ravana prisoner, which legend is related Maya reigns over Talatala, the fourth division, he having been raised to that dignity after the destruction of his three cities by Siva, an account of which exploit is detailed In Mahátala, the fifth region, reside the great serpents, and in Rasatala, the sixth, the Daityas and Dánavas The chief Nagas, or snake-gods,

under their monarch Vasuki, occupy the lowermost of the subterranean kingdoms, that which is especially called Patala

In the account of Ravana's captivity by Bali, mention was made of his future death by Vishnu, in the form of Rama a prince of the solar dynasty, and Vátsyayana referring to this asks Sesha to give him an account of some of the most celebrated monarchs of this family, and of the descent of Vishnu as Rama Sesha accordingly commences with the origin of the Manu Vaivaswata from Aditya, the son of Kasyapa the son of Maríchi the son of Brahmá, previous to whose Manwantara the Manu was preserved by Vishnu, in the Matsya or fish Avatara, in a ship during the deluge the account is in substance the same with that which is given in the Mátsya and other Puranas Sesha then continues with the descendants of Ikshwáku, the order and names of whom conform most nearly with the same in the Bhagavata*, although few details are given Amongst them we have the story of Harischandra's sacrifice and elevation to heaven, and Saudasa's transformation to a cannibal The genealogy is then continued to the immediate predecessors of Ráma, and the greater part of the remainder of the work is then devoted to the history of that monarch, and the actions of himself and of the princes of his house

The story of Dilípa and his service of the cow

* [IX, 6]

Nandini, the birth and reign of Raghu, the marriage of Aja, and death of his wife Indumatí, and the birth of Dasaratha, are told exactly in the same manner as in the Raghu Vansa*, and although in a less poetical style, yet frequently in the same words In the account of Dasaratha we have a legend of his assailing Sani, or Saturn, who had caused a dearth, the king's car falling from heaven at the angry glances of the planet was upstayed by the bird Jatáyu, and Dasaratha was thus enabled to accomplish his object, and partly compel and partly propitiate Sani to withdraw his obstruction to the fall of rain These stories of Rama's ancestors extend from the fifth to the end of the twelfth chapter, and from thence to the end of the 27th we have in the accounts of the birth of Dasaratha's sons, the actions of Rama, his exile his conquest of Lanka, and his return with Sítá to Ayodhya nothing more than an epitome of the Ramáyana

The compiler of the Purana appears however, to have had again recourse to the Raghu Vansa**, for the events that occurred after Rama's return to his capital, the dismissal of Sítá to the hermitage of Valmíki, the death of the demon Lavana by Satrughna, and foundation of Mathura, the birth of Rama's sons, Kusa and Lava, Sitá's being swallowed up by the earth, and Rama's ascending to heaven with his followers and subjects

* [I–III, VII f]

** [XIV f]

Vátsyáyana, unwearied of a tale of which Ráma is the hero, solicits further particulars from Śesha, and the snake-god details Rama's return to Ayodhya more fully, and dilates upon his meeting with his brother Bharata, and the widows of his father. He then describes the visit of Agastya to Ayodhya, when the sage relates some of the circumstances of the history of Ravana, in which the Uttara Khanda of the Ramayana has been followed, with the addition that, Ravana being a Brahman by birth, Rama incurred, in putting him to death, a guilt which can only be expiated by an Aswamedha. Accordingly the rite is described, and the horse intended for the sacrifice let loose, attended by a body of troops under the command of Satrughna. The adventures of the steed and his attendants form the subject of a number of chapters, from the thirty-fifth to the ninetieth.

One of the first places of note to which the horse comes, is Ahichchhatra, a city, which, according to the Mahábharata*, lies north of the Gánges, and which here seems to be in Asam, for adjoining to it is the temple of Kámákhyá, a form of Durga, which has been long especially worshipped in that part of India. The temple it is said was constructed by Sumada, the

* [I, 5511. 16. Vishnu Pur. p. 187 and 454. According to Lassen, Ind. Alt. I, 602, Ahichchhatra (also Ahikshetra) was situated in the Duab. See also Vivien de St. Martin in 'Memoires sur les contrees occidentales.' Paris 1858, II, 342. 343, and in his Etude sur la geographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde. Paris, 1858, p. 324 f.]

king of Ahichchhatra, at the time of Satrughna's arrival, in consequence of the goddess having restored him to his dominions, from which he had been driven by his foes From hence Satrughna marches to the banks of the Payoshní*, a river which, according to the Pauranik lists, rises from the Vindhya mountains, and is rather incongruously, therefore, placed in succession to Asram It is noticed, however, for the purpose of introducing the legend of the *Muni Chyavana*, which is narrated more fully here than in any other Purana The next place described is the *Nila mountain and Purushottama Kshetra*, or *Jagannath*, which involves a legend of Ratnagriva, king of Kanchí (Conjeveram), who, going in pilgrimage to the mouth of the Ganges, makes a very extraordinary detour by the Gandaki river, all geography being here sacrificed to a determination to eulogize the Salagrama, which sacred stone is commonly obtained in the Gandak Satrughna ascends the Nila mountain, and worships Purushottama He next proceeds to Chakranka the capital of Subahu, where the horse is detained by Damana, the son of Subahu, and a fierce conflict ensues, which ends *in the triumph of Satrughna*, and *the recovery of the steed* We have then an *account* of Satyavat, king of Tejaspura, who was *born to his* father in reward of his cherishing a cow, the great importance of which is illustrated by a legend of Janaka, who, notwithstanding his being the father-in law

* [i e the Payin Ganga Lassen, Ind Alt I, 1..]

of Rama, was condemned to hell for having struck a cow His virtues, however, were such, *as not only* to make his going there a mere matter of form, but to enable him to redeem all the damned whom he beheld in Tartarus

The horse is then stolen by the Asura Vidyunmalin, but the theft is detected and the demon slain He then leads his guards to the hermitage of Aranyaka, who questions Satrughna and his companions concerning Rama, and in consequence repairs to Ayodhya, where he is incorporated with the demigod The steed next falls into the Narmada, but is followed by the warriors to the caverns of the river goddesses, *and they restore the horse he then becomes the subject* of a still more formidable encounter, being carried off by Rukmangada, the son of Viramani, king of Devapura The heroes of Satrughna's host are, in the first instance, victorious, and the king and his *son are left for dead, when Siva, of whom Viramani* was a worshipper, comes with Vírabhadra to the aid of his votaries Pushkala, Satrughna's chief captain, is beheaded by Virabhadra, and Satrughna struck down senseless by Siva, but Hanuman, after arresting Siva's *progress, brings the drug that reanimates the* dead and restores his friends to life, the battle is renewed, but Siva continuing to have the best of it, Rama himself is obliged to appear Siva then retreats after offering worship to Rama, and Viramani, who has been also revived, *relinquishes the horse and his* kingdom

Several other stories of this kind occur At last the horse comes to Valmiki's hermitage, where he is detained by Lava, the son of Rama, yet a youth The mention of his name leads to a repetition of the story of Sita's being separated from Rama, with the addition of its cause, her having, when a girl, caught two parrots, and having let the male go, but kept the female, the latter, after pronouncing an imprecation on Sita that she should be separated from her husband, died of grief, but repeating the name of Rama to the last, went to heaven, the male threw himself into the Ganges, and was born again as a washerman in Ayodhya, in which character he became the main agent in Sita's exile, for discovering that his wife had spent some time in another man's house, he reviled, and beat her, and when his mother in-law endeavoured to prevail upon him to forgive her daughter, he replied, "Not I I am not the king I am not Rama, who took back Sita after she had lost her character in the dwelling of the Rakshas" These words being reported to Rama by his spies induced the king to send his wife away, and she was taken accordingly to the hermitage of Valmiki, where she bore two sons, Kusa and Lava This part of the work agrees in some respects with the *Uttara Rama Charitra*, but has several gossiping and legendary additions Kusa, coming to Lava's aid, they defeat all Satrughna's warriors, including Sugriva and Hanuman, but by their mother's injunctions they release the horse who is then con-

Satrughna, reports to Rama all that has happened to the party. The account of Kusa and Lava excites Rama's curiosity, and he sends for Válmíki to inform him who they are. This leads to his discovery of his sons and his reunion with Sítá. The Aswamedha takes place, but at the instant when Ráma is about to slay the victim, he becomes a celestial person, being a Brahman, condemned by Durvásas, for hypocrisy, to wear the shape of a horse until released and sanctified by Ráma: he goes to heaven. These details succeed an account of the reign of Kusa, and a summary list of his successors, until the solar line ends with Sumitra in the ninety-seventh chapter. Here also closes *the dialogue between Sesha and Vátsyáyana*, the latter thanking the former for his narrations, and taking leave of him to wander over the earth.

The Rishis then ask Súta to inform them what is the sum and substance of the Puránas. He is not allowed to answer in his own person, but repeats a dialogue between Siva and Párvatí on the subject, which at first is a repetition of a discourse between the sage Gautama and the sovereign Ambarísha, in which the former details to the latter, at his request, the names of the eighteen Puránas, and the number of verses *contained in each. There is one important* peculiarity in this list, not only is the Bhágavata placed last, but it is said, "Vyása first promulgated the Padma, then sixteen others, and finally the Bhágavata, as the extracted substance of all the rest, which he taught in twelve Skandhas or books, to his

son Suka" The merits of the Bhagavata as the text-book of the Vaishnava faith are then eulogized, and the particulars alluded to leave no doubt of the work intended, or of the priority of the Bhagavata to the Patala Khanda of the Padma Purana

The conversation between Sadasiva and Parvatí is continued through all the remaining chapters, except the last In reply to the inquiries of the latter, the former relates to her a description of Vrindavana and some of the sports of Krishna amongst the Gopís, or milk maids of Gokula, in illustration of the character of the tenth book of the Bhagavata, which is dedicated to the life of that demigod We have, however, anecdotes not found in that work, relating to Radha, the favourite mistress of Krishna, to the origin of the Gopís and to the temporary transformation of Narada and Arjuna to females The distinguishing duties and characteristics of Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu, and the efficacy of the Salagrama stone, of sectarial marks on the person, of chaplets and rosaries, of Tulasí, or sacred Basil, and of worshipping Vishnu on certain days in each month, are then detailed at some length, and this Khanda, like the other, concludes with a tolerably copious chapter of contents

Uttara Khanda The last section of the Padma Purana This portion is more considerable than either of the preceding, consisting of 12,000 stanzas, distributed amongst 174 chapters

Manuscripts of this portion of the Padma Purana present a variety in their arrangement, some com-

mencing with the legend of Jalandhara, as in the case of the copy of which I possess the index, and in that *from which Col Vans Kennedy has translated that* story* whilst the copy consulted on the present occasion begins with Dilípa's going a hunting and concludes with the narrative of Jalandhara This order is confirmed by the Anukrama or chapter of contents, *with which the work concludes*

According to this copy, the Uttara Khanda commences, rather abruptly, it must be admitted, with Suta's stating that after king Dilípa had been crowned, he went forth from his capital to the chase In the wood he met Vriddha Harita, a sage, who commended his having bathed in a pool in the forest, as ablution in the month of Magha is peculiarly efficacious, he referred Dilipa for further information on this point to the Muni Vasishtha, and the king accordingly repaired to that sage for instruction Vasishtha's communications to Dilipa on the subject of various observances which are to be held sacred by the worshippers of Vishnu, and the virtue of which is illustrated by a number of legends, mostly of sectarial and comparatively recent origin, constitute the substance of this extensive but uninteresting compilation

Vasishtha first relates to Dilipa an account of Bhrigu's residing in the Himalaya mountains, and *enjoining* a Vidyadhara, who has a tiger's head, to bathe in the

* [*Quarterly Oriental Magazine Calc* 1825, Vol IV, 243 65, and Vol V, 1–30]

month of Magha, by which he gets quit of the deformity, he then repeats a story told by Dattatreya to Sahasrarjuna, of Rishika, a Brahman female, who, in consequence of bathing in the month of Magha, dwelt four thousand ages in Vaikuntha, and was then born as the Apsaras Tilottama, for the purpose of causing the mutual destruction of Sunda and Upasunda, an incident taken from the Mahabharata.* Other legends to the same purport are then narrated, of which it will be sufficient to notice the following:—Sukundala and Vikundala were the sons of a Vaisya, who dissipated their property in profligate pleasures: after death, the former was sentenced to the Raurava hell, the latter to Swarga, much to his own surprise, as he had led the same abandoned life as his elder brother. He had, however, once bathed in the Jamna, in the month of Magha, and hence proceeded his different destiny. Kanchanamalini became an Apsaras by bathing in the month of Magha at Prayaga, and by giving the merit of three days' ablutions to a Rakshas, she liberated him from that state, and enabled him to ascend to Swarga. Five Apsarasas endeavouring to compel the son of a Muni to return their affection, were cursed by him to become Pisachis; they reiterated the imprecation, and the youth was also changed to a Pisacha. They were all redeemed from their metamorphosis by bathing at Prayaga, in the month of Magha, by the advice of Lomasa Rishi. Chitrasena, king of Dravida,

* [I., 7619—7730.]

was a pious and benevolent monarch, but unluckily, he listened to the persuasion of Saiva ascetics, here termed Pashandas, or heretics, who maintained that no deity but Siva should be worshipped and Vishnu in particular should be shunned, and the Raja and his people were not only converted from the adoration of Vishnu to that of Siva, but demolished the temple of the former, and threw his images into the sea. Chitrasena, on his death, was punished by a sojourn in Tartarus, and by being then born as a Pisacha. Devadyuti, a Brahman, who had gained the especial favour of Vishnu, met with the Pisacha and recommended him both by precept and illustration, to bathe at Prayaga, in the month of Magha, which he did, and was cleansed from his iniquities and transported to Swarga.

Vasishtha next teaches Dilipa the greatest of all the Mantras, that which was imparted to Brahma by Vishnu, by the former to Narada, and by Narada to the Rishis. This consists merely of the two names, Lakshmi and Narayana, in the formula 'Om Lakshmi-narayanaya Namah', but it is declared to be the mystery of mysteries, and certain means of salvation. It may be communicated to all classes, to Sudras and others, and to women, if they have faith in Vishnu. It must, however, be preceded by the ceremony of Diksha or initiation, the essential part of which is the Tapta Mudra, or stamping on the skin of the novice, at the part where the arms are set on to the chest, marks, with a heated iron, representing the conch and discus of Vishnu, a

several places whence the earth should be taken, and the list is remarkable for containing the names of places in the south of India, as Venkatagiri and Srirangam The prayer to be used is called the Eight-syllable Mantra, or 'Om Narayanaya namah', and he who communicates it is the Acharya, no matter what his caste The meaning of the prayer, and particularly *of the term Om, is here explained in a characteristically* mystical strain, and Vishnu is next described as the source and substance of all things An account is then given of his residence, Vaikuntha, and of his pastimes, or delusions, which are, in fact, all created beings Vishnu, at the prayer of Mahamaya, or Prakriti, combining with her as Purusha, or soul, and engendering creation He then sports with Mahamaya, or sleeps on the waters, when a lotus springs from his navel, from which Brahma makes his appearance, and the world is created, a detailed description ensues of the fourfold Vyuha, or disposition of Vishnu's residences, Vaikuntha, Vaishnava loka, or a mythical Dwaraka, the white island, or Swetadwipa, and a palace in the sea of milk

Siva next relates to Parvati an account of the Vaibhavas or manifestations, Avataras, or descents of Vishnu, of the first, or Matsya, it is said that Vishnu, in the form of a fish, entered the ocean and destroyed Hiranyaksha, who had assumed the shape of the Makara, differing therefore from the usual account of the descent of Vishnu as a fish In the descent of the *Tortoise, an account is given* of the churning of the

ocean, the chief peculiarity in which is the birth of Jyeshtha Devi, the elder goddess, or Alakshmí, misfortune The production of her more amiable sister, Lakshmí, prosperity, occurred on the twelfth lunation, and thence Siva, at Parvatí's request, explains the sanctity of this and of the eleventh lunation, and the practices proper to be observed on those days The goddess then inquires who are heretics, and the reply designates especially the followers of Siva Parvati asks naturally enough how this should be, as they imitate her husband and Siva's explanation is, that he adopted the use of the skull, skin, bones, and ashes, by desire of Vishnu, to beguile Namuchi and other Daityas, who had obtained the mastery over the gods, but lost it by the heresy into which they were seduced by teachers inspired by Siva as Kanada, Gautama, Saktri, Upamanyu, Jaimini, Kapila, Durvasas, Mrikandu, Vrihaspati, and Jamadagni, authors of works in which the quality of darkness predominates Works of this character are then specified, and are the treatises on the Pasupata worship, or worship of Siva as Pasupati, Bauddha works, the Vaiseshika, Vedanta, and Mimansa philosophies the Bráhma and other Puranas, and the legal institutes of Gautama, Vrihaspati Samudra, Yama, Sankha, and Usanas

The Varaha and Nrisinha Avatars are then related, and in the latter we have the story of Prahlada, much in the same style as in the Vishnu P The Vamana, or dwarf Avatara is next described at some length, and we have then the Avatara of Parasurama in some de-

tail The story of Ráma next occurs, and forms a complete epitome of the Rámáyana, and the birth, actions, and death of Krishna, agreeably to the text of the Bhágavata, are last narrated The Avatáras of Vishnu constitute a considerable portion of the work, extending from the thirty sixth to the seventy-second chapter

The construction of the images of Vishnu is next described, and the places are mentioned, where the principal are erected, as Srírangam, Kási, Jagannátha, where the image is of wood, Badaríkásrama, Gangásagar, Dwáraká, Venkatádri, Vrindávan, &c Bathing is enjoined in the Ganges, Yamuna, Sarayu, and Gandakí, in upper India, and in the Káverí, Tamraparni, Godávarí, Krishná, and Narmadá, in the Dakhin, worship is to be offered daily to Lakshmi and Náráyana, and the mode of so doing is fully detailed Párvatí then declares her intention of adoring Vishnu, for which Sadásiva commends her, and repeats to her the hundred and eight names of Ráma The two deities then devote themselves to the adoration of Vishnu, and the dialogue concludes with the seventy-fifth chapter

The conversation is then resumed between Dilípa and Vasishtha, and the king asks the sage how it happened that Siva attained a form so unattractive and unlike a god In reply the Muni tells him that at a great sacrifice made by Swáyambhuva Manu, the assembled Rishis discussed which of the deities was entitled to the homage of a Brahman, some said Rudra,

some Brahmá, some Súrya or the sun, and some Vishńu, but they all agreed that the only being whom they ought to revere was he who was made up of the quality of goodness, and they employed Bhrigu to visit the deities, and put their characters to the test. Bhŕigu accordingly went to Śiva, but could not obtain access to him, as he was engaged with his wife; finding him, therefore, to consist of the property of darkness, Bhrigu sentenced him to the form of the Linga, and pronounced that he should have no offerings presented to him, nor receive the worship of the pious and respectable. His next visit was to Brahmá, whom he beheld surrounded by sages, and so much inflated with his own importance as to treat Bhrigu with great inattention, betraying his being made up of the quality of foulness. The Muni therefore excluded him from the worship of the Brahmans. Repairing next to Vishńu, he found the deity asleep, and, indignant at his seeming sloth, Bhrigu stamped upon his breast with his left foot and awoke him. Instead of being offended, Vishńu gently pressed the Brahman's foot, and expressed himself honoured and made happy by its contact; and Bhrigu, highly pleased by his humility, and satisfied of his being impersonated goodness, proclaimed Vishńu as the only deity to be worshipped by men or gods, in which decision the Munis, upon Bhrigu's report, concurred. This subject extends to the seventy-sixth chapter, and in some copies forms the concluding section. It is not the last of my copy, however, for Vaśishtha having briefly recapitulated the

subjects on which he has indoctrinated Dilípa, asks him what more he desires to hear, on which Dilípa expresses a wish to be made acquainted with the Máhátmya of the Bhagavad Gíta Vasishtha replies by repeating another dialogue between Siva and Párvatí, in which Siva reports a conversation between Vishnu and Lakshmí, the former of whom describes to the latter the holiness of the composition of Vyása, called the Bhagavad Gíta, and exemplifies its sanctity by legends of individuals who were purified from sin, or released from future existence, by hearing or reading one or other of the sections of the Gíta, beginning with the first, and proceeding regularly in succession to the last There is nothing worthy of note in these stories, they are all purely sectarial, according to Vaishnava notions The scene of many is laid in the south of India, at Pratishthana, on the Godavarí, at other places on that river, at Sri Sailam, at Mahishmatí, on the Narmadá, at Haripur on the Tungabhadra river, at Saurashtra (city, or Surat,) in the country of Gurjara, and at other cities, said to be in the Dakhin, but which are perhaps fabulous, as Amarddaka and Meghankusa, Kolapur may perhaps admit of verification The subject extends to the ninety-third chapter

Sadasiva then repeats to Párvatí the thousand names of Vishnu, as recited by Narada to Bhrigu and other sages, and the reply made by the same holy person to a number of questions put by the Rishis, the general purport of which is the transcendent merit of one who

constantly recites the names of Vishnu, wears the sectarial marks, and addresses to Vishnu all his thoughts, words, and deeds This part includes the Kriya Yoga Sára Máhátmya, or the efficacy of studying a subsequent portion of the Padma Purana, and therefore eulogized here rather out of its place The whole is nothing more than a reiteration of what has been repeatedly said before, though it proceeds to the end of the one hundred and first chapter

The subject is still further prosecuted, and the merit of worshipping Vishnu, the certain expiation of all sin thereby, and the faults by which its efficacy is impaired, are communicated to Nárada by Sanatkumára, as he had been taught them by Siva We have then two chapters on the unlawfulness of taking away life, consisting chiefly of an account given by Durga of herself to Siva, in which she ascribes her sanguinary exploits, as the death of various Asuras, to the Máyá, or illusion of Vishnu, by which those who worship him are not to be beguiled Siva then explains to Nárada what Bhakti or faith in Vishnu means, and what practices are incompatible with it the various modes of worshipping Vishnu, the manner of meditating upon him, or inaudibly repeating his names, the rules of personal purification, the reverence to be shown to a Guru, or spiritual guide, the hundred and eight names of Krishna, which should be repeated every morning, the mystical marks on the soles of Krishna's feet, which should also be called to mind, the duty of morning ablution, and merit of washing

with water in which a Salagrama has been immersed The subjects continue to the end of the one hundred and thirteenth chapter

Dilípa then inquires of Vasishtha what are the most efficacious means of obtaining final emancipation, to which the Muni replies by relating the Mahatmya of the month Kartikeya, as it was imparted to Narada by Brahma In this month whatever gifts are made, whatever observances are practised, if they be in honour of Vishnu, are sure of attaining the end desired, and realizing an imperishable reward Amongst the especially sacred acts of this month is the gift of lighted lamps No particular day is enjoined in the section that treats of the Dípa dana Mahatmya, but the eleventh of the moon's wane is alluded to as especially appropriate, and the merit is great even if the lamps be lighted for the purpose of gambling at night in any place dedicated to Vishnu The fourteenth and fifteenth lunations are also noted as holy days, but the general instruction is, "let a man offer lamps day and night in the month of Kártik " Some legends are narrated in illustration of this general precept, as well as of the efficacy of certain days of the month, thus, the thirteenth dark lunation is specified as the day on which Yama is to be worshipped with offerings of lamps Bathing is enjoined early in the morning of the fourteenth and fifteenth lunations, and flowers and water are to be then also presented to Yama, lamps are to be offered at night to the deities generally On the morning of the first light lunation or new moon,

bathing is to be performed, libations are to be made to gods, men, and progenitors, the monthly obsequies are to be celebrated, Brahmans entertained, a number of lamps lighted at night in houses, gardens, cow-sheds, meetings of public roads, and holy places, and families are to keep awake through the night, and pass it in diversion, especially in games of chance As these directions were given by Vasishtha to a certain female, they suggest to Narada to inquire by what means women become beautiful, fortunate, fruitful, and faithful Brahma tells him a story, in reply, of a lady called Subhara, who was all these, in consequence of duly observing the Sukha ratri, the happy night which Vishnu passes with Lakshmí, and which occurs on the fifteenth of the dark half of Kartik The ceremonies on this occasion consisting chiefly of the worship of Mahálakshmí, and including illuminations are to be conducted especially by women On the first of the moon s increase, Bali the Daitya is to be worshipped in commemoration of his gifts to Vishnu as the dwarf, which took place on that day Krishna is also to be worshipped as Gopála the cow-herd On the second lunation, which is thence called Yama dwitíya, Yama is to be adored by those who wish to know not death, and on the eleventh the waking of Vishnu from his periodical slumbers is to be celebrated

The account of these sacred days in the month of Kartik extends to the one hundred and twenty sixth chapter

The Kartika Mahatmya, however, is still considered

to be the appropriate title of this portion of the Purana, although most of the chapters treat of topics not exclusively relating to that month They describe the objects of Vaishnava ceremonies and observances, which are equally sacred at other seasons, as the Dhatri flower, the Salagram stone, the various kinds of Sálagramas, the conch shell, the Tulasí plant, various perfumes, as sandal, agallochum, and different fragrant flowers, all which are peculiarly dedicated to Vishnu, and are to be worshipped or offered in worship on occasions and in modes which are particularized A description is then given of the Bhíshma panchaka, or five days from the beginning of the eleventh to the end of the fifteenth lunation of the month of Kártik, dedicated to the worship of Bhíshma, and this properly closes the subject of the holiness of Kartik, or the Kártika Máhatmya, with the one hundred and thirty-second chapter.

In reply, however, to a question of the Rishis, Suta relates to them the communication of the legend of Kártika by Narada, to the wives of Krishna at Dwaraká, and a conversation that ensued between Krishna and Satyabhamá, in which the divinity gives his wife an account of her *former existence as the daughter* of a Brahman, and her having been exalted to her present dignity in consequence of observing the ceremonies proper to the eleventh lunation of the month of Kartik Satyabhama asks how this month obtained its peculiar sanctity, in reply to which, Krishna relates to her the story of the Asura Sankha having

stolen the Vedas, and Vishnu's becoming a fish, in order to plunge into the sea and recover them In this version of the Matsya Avatara we have the sage Kasyapa substituted for Satyavrata, and he throws the fish, when it is too large for the pond, into the sea we have nothing further of a boat or a deluge—the fish kills Sankha, and brings the Vedas back to the gods This happened in the month of Kartika, and on the eleventh day, whence bathing in that month and on that day is commemorative of this Avatara Bathing at Prayaga and Badarikasrama are peculiarly enjoined, and then Narada, who has been the narrator of the previous story, which Krishna has only repeated, describes to Prithu the mode of observing the ceremonies or the fasting, bathing, giving presents, waking and worshipping, which should be practised in this month These topics proceed to the one hundred and fortieth chapter Prithu then asks Nárada to explain to him how the Tulasí plant became sacred to Vishnu Nárada, in illustration, tells him a long legend of the birth, exploits, and death of Jalandhara, a person of whom no mention occurs in any other Purána but whose story has been translated into English by Col Vans Kennedy The translation frequently varies from the text of the copy I have consulted, but the variations are not material to the narrative, and it is sufficient to refer to the translation for the details of the story—a story which, whether as it occurs in this place, or in the beginning of the work, appears extremely incongruous with its general

tenour, and little, if at all, connected with what precedes or follows occupies nine chapters. At the close it appears that Vishnu was fascinated with the beauty of Vrinda, the wife of Jalandhara, to redeem him from which enthralment the gods applied to Lakshmi, Gauri, and Swadha, each gave them seeds to sow where Vishnu was enchanted. Those given by Lakshmí came up as the Dhátrí, Malatí, and Tulasí plants, and appearing in female forms they attracted Vishnu's admiration, and diverted his affections from Vrinda, hence the estimation in which they are to be held by all devout Vaishnavas. Nárada then relates to Prithu a series of stories still in illustration of the merit of acts of devotion in the month Kartik, in which again we have indications of the locality of the origin of this composition in the choice of sacred places in the Dakhin for the scenes of the wondrous events narrated, as the Sahya mountain, Saurashtra, the confluence of the Krishna and Vení rivers, Kanchí, the capital of a prince called Chola, king of Chola the brother of Anantarayana. The account winds up with a legend of the origin of the Krishna, Veni, and Kakudminí rivers, which were formed of portions of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma whilst the numerous streams of the Sahya mountain proceeded from portions of their several goddesses.

Krishna and Satyabhama appear again in the one hundred and fifty seventh chapter, as interlocutors, and the former expatiates to the latter on the three vratas or observances which he most prizes—those

of the months Kártik and Mágha, and of the Ekádasí or eleventh lunation, throughout the year He then explains to her the manner in which the character of an individual is affected by that of those with whom he associates, and the possibility of interchanging vices and virtues, or of transferring to others the consequences of one's own acts, a doctrine frequently advanced and illustrated in this work He exemplifies the theory by the narrative of Dhaneswara, a Brahman of low occupation, who goes to Máhíshmatí, in the month Kártik, to sell skins, and his business leading daily to the banks of the Narmada, he is thrown into the company of numerous Vaishnavas—hears them constantly recite the name of Vishnu—sees them bathing and offering worship—and joins them, more out of curiosity than devotion, in their rites Upon his death, and condemnation to Tartarus it is found that the punishments of hell have no effect upon him, and upon inquiry into the cause, Yama learns his accidental observance of the month of Kártik he is accordingly dismissed from the lower regions, and becomes one of the inferior divinities called Yakshas Krishna and Satyabhámá then go to perform the evening Sandhya, and Suta and the Rishis resume their dialogue in chapter one hundred and sixty

Suta now explains how the Kartika-vrata is to be observed by sick persons, or those who dwell in mountains and forests, which is illustrated by a legend of the metamorphosis of portions of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, to trees, or severally to the Aswattha

(Ficus religiosa), Vata (F Indica), and Palasa (Butea frondosa), by the curse of Parvatí Another legend of Daridra, or Poverty, left by Uddalaka, a Muni, to whom she had been espoused under an Aswattha tree, explains why that tree is to be touched only on a Sunday, for on every other day Poverty or Misfortune abides in it on Sunday it is the residence of Lakshmi This concludes the Kartika Mahátmya with chapter one hundred and sixty one

The next subject is the history of Radha, the favourite mistress of Krishna, who is said to be Máha lakshmí, born as the daughter of the Raja Vrisha bhanu and Srikirttida, she was born on the eighth of the moon s increase in the month Bhadra, and the work therefore describes the Bhadrashtamí vrata, or the ceremonies to be observed on Radha's birth day, with the prayers and worship to be addressed to her and to Krishna, including the catalogue of her hundred and eight appellations similar injunctions are then given for the observance of Krishna's birth day on the eighth day of the dark half of the same month, and the three circumstances by which it is modified, as the simple Ashtamí, Rohiní, and Jayanti, or the concurrence of the asterism Rohiní with the eighth lunation and the moon's entering the constellation at midnight, are described The holiness of the forest of Vrindavan, the favourite haunt of Krishna and Radha, is the next topic, and we have then the one hundred and eight names of Annapurná, a form of Lakshmi Suta then communicates to the Rishis the

the sanctity of another month of bathing, fasting, and worshipping Vishnu, proper to be observed in Vaisakha, illustrating it by Vaishnava tales, showing how various persons were purified from their sins by the efficacy of acts performed in Vaisákh The Vaisákha Mahatmya ends with the one hundred and seventy-second chapter The next chapter contains the Anukrama or index, and the one hundred and seventy-fourth or last chapter consists of a panegyric upon the Uttara Khanda of the Padma Purána

The *Kriya Yoga Sara* is always considered as a sort of supplement to the Padma Purana, or as a portion of the Uttara Khanda of that Purana It is divided into twenty-five chapters, and contains about 4000 stanzas It commences with Suta's visit to Naimisharanya, where Saunaka, on behalf of the Rishis, asks him to inform them how, in an age so degenerate as the Kali, religious merit may be attained, mankind being now incapable of those arduous acts of devotion which were commonly practised in more auspicious ages Suta replies by reciting a dialogue between Vyasa and Jaimini, in which Vyasa, to satisfy the similar inquiries of his disciple, repeated to him the Kriya Yoga Sara Purana, or Purana explanatory of practical devotion, in opposition to the Dhyána Yoga, or devotion of contemplation

Practical devotion is, according to this authority, the adoration of Vishnu It was exercised before the creation by Brahma, upon Vishnu's destroying the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, and the notice of the

circumstance is accompanied by a brief description of the origin of the world, and the birth and destruction of the two demons.

The first act of devotion enjoined is bathing in the Ganges, or celebrating the virtues of the sacred stream, especially at three places—Haridwára, Prayága, and Gangásagara. The holiness of the river is chiefly explained by insipid and extravagant legends, of Swarga, Vaikuntha, and even final liberation, being the reward of different persons, several of whom were most abandoned sinners, who were sprinkled, on their deaths, with Ganges water—who were drowned in the river—or whose bones were cast into it. These stories extend from the third to the end of the eighth section.

A series of precepts and illustrations occupies the next five chapters on the worship of Vishnu in each month of the year, describing how it is to be performed, and what recompense rewards it. The next chapters explain the merits of the simple repetition of the words Hari, Ráma, Krishna, and other names of Vishnu, the efficacy of Bhakti, or faith in Vishńu, the holiness of Purushottama Kshetra, and Jagannatha, the virtue of liberality, and excellence of various kinds of gifts, with the reward that awaits donations to Vaishnavas and to Vishnu, the reverence due to Brahmans, the sanctity of the Ekádasí, or eleventh lunation. In the story of Kotiratha and his queen Supragná, who faithfully observed the Ekadasí, a description of hell, and the punishments inflicted on the damned, is given. The virtues of the Tulasí and

Dhátri plants, and merit of planting, and cherishing them, and wearing rosaries and necklaces made of their wood, are the theme of the twenty-third chapter The next chapter details the duties of hospitality, and the work closes with an account of the decline of virtue in the different ages, and the depravity of mankind in the Kali Yuga That period has, however, its advantages, for the recompense of years of devotion in the preceding ages is realized by a single repitition of the name of Hari*

There can be little doubt that the two last portions of the Padma Purána have not much in common, beyond their sectarial tendency, with those by which they are preceded, and it may be questioned if there is any very close connexion even between the four first Khandas, and whether they can be regarded as constituting one continuous work at any rate it is clear, that neither individually nor collectively do they correspond with the description of a Purána, or embody a representation that can be regarded as ancient or authentic of Hindu tradition and mythology They are all evidently the compositions of a particular sect, and for a particular purpose — authorities compiled by the Vaishnavas for the promulgation of the worship of Vishnu

The Srishti Khanda, or first portion of the work, is the most free from a sectarial character, and con

* [Wollheim's analysis of the Kriyayogasara in Jahresbericht der deutschen morgenl Ges fur 1846 p 153 59]

forms best to that of a Purana The earlier and later chapters, indeed, treating of the creation, regal genealogies, and legends which appear to be ancient, mostly employ language used in several of the Puranas, the original property in which it is difficult to assign to any one of them, and perhaps of right belongs to none, having been borrowed from some common source In the case of the Pádma Purána, however, it is strongly to be suspected that the compiler had before him especially the Vayu, Vishnu, and Bhagavata Puranas

A very considerable portion of the Srishti Khanda is, however, as far as can be ascertained, original, although it be not Pauranik, for it constitutes the Paushkara Mahatmyam, or the golden legend of the lake of Pushkara or Pokhar in Ajmír*, where alone Brahma is worshipped, and it is a peculiarity of this part of the work, that its sectarianism is the worship of Brahma rather than of Vishnu There are some curious legends, as has been observed, of apparent struggles for supremacy between the followers of Brahma and Siva, in which, though the latter triumphs, yet it is at the expense of some humiliation

The advocacy of the adoration of Brahma, growing out of the legendary sanctity of a place dedicated to that divinity, is a probable clue to the history of the composition and gives reason to suppose that this part of the Padma Purana owes its origin to the temples at Pokhar, legends intended to enhance the merit

* [Lassen Ind Alt. I, 113]

of acts of devotion at that shrine having been blended *not very congruously with others taken from different* sources, and embellished according to the taste of the compilers when this is likely to have been accomplished, is a matter of some uncertainty Pokhar is still a place of pilgrimage, and a shrine of Brahma, but it was probably not much resorted to during the Mohammedan supremacy in the vicinity of Ajmír, and the worship of Brahma has not been popular for some centuries at least On the other hand, if narratives, legends, and genealogies have been borrowed literally from other Puránas, including the Vishnu, as appears probable, we cannot go very far back for its composition

There are also various descriptions and allusions, from which a comparatively modern origin may be inferred Ráma is said to have recognised Siva as the guardian of the bridge between Lanka and the peninsula, giving him the name of Rameswara, and the temple at that place, which still exists, must therefore have been built when the legend was written Amongst the wives or favourites of Vishnu Radhá is named, and her deification there is reason to believe modern The Brahmans who live to the south of the Vindhya mountains are declared unfit to be invited to a Sraddha, or obsequial feast, an exclusion implying a difference of faith or practice, which is not to be traced in older authorities, and which was probably levelled especially at the Saiva and Vaishnava sects of the peninsula The followers of Siva, who are characterized

by carrying a skull, are possibly not of high antiquity, and the specification of the Jain heterodoxy, with the description of a class of their priests carrying a bunch of peacocks' feathers, are indications of no remote date We have also frequent mention of Mlechchhas, or barbarians, and *Sávitri pronounces*, in the seventeenth chapter, an imprecation upon Lakshmí, the goddess of propriety, that she shall take up her abode with them—this looks like an allusion to the presence and predominant authority of the Mohammedans when the passage was written, and there seems reason to believe that this portion of the Purána was compiled at some period between the establishment of the Mohammedan kingdom of Delhi in the thirteenth and the fifteenth or sixteenth century *

The Bhumi Khanda bears even less of the character of a Purána than the preceding, containing very few of those details which belong to the ancient mythological system, and being still more extensively made up of sectarial legends Its sectarianism is Vaishnava, and is more decided than that of the Srishti Khanda Is is less controversial and exclusive, however, and Siva is more civilly treated, and admitted to share with Vishnu the adoration of mankind

Brahmá is scarcely noticed at all, and then only to be identified with Vishnu

The character of the stories which constitute the greater portion of this work, and the additions made to those narratives which are *borrowed from older* compositions, sufficiently evidence the absence of an-

tiquity We have also repeated the specification of Jain doctrines, and may therefore infer that these enjoyed some degree of popularity at the time when they were thus assailed The locality of the Bhumi Khanda is different from that of the Srishti, and instead of Pushkara, the places to which the greatest sanctity is attributed are situated along the Narmada, and in central and western India Amongst these Mahakala is specified, which may possibly be the shrine of Siva, at Ujjayini, that was demolished by Sultan Altmish, in 1231 A shrine of Durga, under the name of Kamakhya, which lies in Asam*, is also mentioned, and it may be doubted if that or several of the other Tirthas specified were in possession of celebrity at any remote era The date of the Bhumi Khanda then probably differs little from that of the preceding portion it does not seem, however, to be necessarily connected with it, but to have been the work of different hands in a different part of India, and under circumstances somewhat dissimilar It may be doubted also if it is the Bhumi Khanda alluded to in the first chapter of the Srishti, for although it does contain a description of the earth and of sundry Tirthas, yet, as will have been seen by the abstract of its contents, they occupy but a small part of that of which, according to the specification referred to, they ought to have constituted the substance

The opening of the Swarga Khanda with the precise

---

* [See note above, p 48 and Lassen, Ind Alt III [illegible]]

story of the drama of Sakuntala, shows that it is posterior to the play. The travels of Bharata appear also to be borrowed from other and probably still later originals, and their boundary, Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, placed above all the other Lokas, is a later and sectarial addition to the genuine Pauranik system. The narratives that follow do belong to the old legendary stock, but the long conversation between Mandhatri and Narada, which forms the connecting thread of the latter half of the Swarga Khanda, is an original embellishment. The Vaishnava observances, the worship of the Salagrama stone, the use of frontal marks, the holiness of the eleventh lunation, are not only sectarial, but, as far as has yet been ascertained, are modern, having been adopted by some of the Vaishnava sects, which sprung up after the appearance of Ramanuja in the middle of the twelfth century. We have no reason therefore to assign to this part of the Padma Purana a higher antiquity than to the former, and it seems to be connected with the Bhumi Khanda in order and in subject. It corresponds also well enough with the brief description given of it in the first chapter of the Srishti Khanda.

The Patala Khanda is little else than a history of Ráma, and of his house, the details of which are, to a great extent, taken from the Raghu Vansa, and, as already observed, in the very same words. The Purana is therefore more modern than the poem. The plan of the adventures of the horse turned loose for Rama's Aswamedha, which constitute a large portion

of the Pat ıla Khanda, appeaıs to be orıgınal, as are most of the stories, although some of them are only embellished versions of legends to be met with else where Some of the places noticed afford a limit to the antiquity of the work K ım ıkhya, as has been stated, is probably no very ancient shrine, and cer tainly Jagannath has no pretensions to high antiquity We have also the S ılagrama, the sectarial marks, and the Tulasí plant, made the subjects of repeated pan egyric, and the use of these is characteristic of modern Vaishnava sects The Bhagavata Puıana is al o named and distinctly particularized, and the P ıt ıla Khanda of the P ıdma is therefore more modern than the Bha gavata Except the ancestors of R ıma, there are no genealogies in this Khanda and its congruity with the description in the Srishti Khanda is therefore rather questionable

The Khandas of the Pádma Purana, thus far, are Vaishnava works The first Khanda, it is true, almost drops that character in the importance attached to Pushkara and the worship of Brahma, but the three next are obviously written to assert the supremacy of Vishnu There is a tolerable conformity amongst the three in the tone in which this is enforced, and they al o agree in the choice of Rama rather than of Krishna for the form of Vishnu that is selected as the subject of their panegyric It seems likely, therefore, that they are nearly cotemporary productions, and that they originated with the followers of Ram ınuja,

or Madhwacharya, Vaishnava teachers, in the South of India, in the twelfth century

The moderation that pervades the injunctions of the preceding portions is no longer observed by the Uttara Khanda and the worship of any divinity, except Vishnu, and of Siva especially, is positively prohibited It possesses equally little of the character of a Purána, and is a violent sectarial work made up for the most part of legends, invented to inculcate the exclusive worship of Vishnu the use of distinguishing Vaishnava marks and the sanctity of particular seasons when Vishnu should especially be propitiated The latter subjects in the legends, or Mahatmyas, of the months Mágha and Kartik constitute the bulk of the compilation

The main purport and evident locality of this section sufficiently illustrate the probable period of its composition within certain limits, and show that it was written when a struggle took place between the Saivas and Vaishnavas of the Peninsula for superiority One legend, indeed, relates to a king of Dravida, who, listening to the doctrines of heretics (Saivas), destroyed the temples of Vishnu, and threw his images into the sea The time at which these contests took place appears to have been about the eleventh and twelfth centuries (*Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, LXII)

Amongst the practices especially enjoined is the Tapta Mudrá, stamping the names of Vishnu on the skin with a hot iron, a practice not warranted by ancient texts, and introduced into the Dakhin appa

rently some eight or nine centuries ago (*As. Res.* XVI, 12.)

The principal places at which worship is addressed to Vishnu include *Srirangam* and *Venkatadri*, or *Tripeti*. The traditions of the latter acknowledge that it was a Saiva shrine in the time of Ramanuja, who recovered it for the Vaishnavas, and, consequently, the Uttara Khanda is posterior to that event and to the twelfth century.

The scenes of many of the legends illustrating the merit of worshipping Vishnu are laid in the South, and amongst them we have Haripur on the Tungabhadra. In the translated index this is called Hariharapur, and whichever reading be correct, it appears probable, from its situation on the *Tungabhadra*, that the capital of Vijayanagara is intended, the city of Bukka and Harihara Rayas, which was founded in the beginning of the fourteenth century*.

These, as well as the general character of the work and its dwelling upon the sanctity of the Salagrama stone, *Tulasi* plant, and other particulars, afford proof sufficiently credible, that it is not entitled to be considered as the composition of a remote period. The fifteenth century will not, in all probability, be very far from the highest antiquity to which it can lay claim.

The Kriya Yoga Sara seems to have been suggested by the chapters of the Uttara Khanda, which treat of practical devotion according to Vaishnava tenets. In

* [Lassen, Ind. Alt. IV, 164 ff.]

that case, it is posterior to it, and there is nothing in it inconsistent with a more modern date Its tone is more moderate, however, and from its dilating more especially upon the holiness of the Ganges, and of Jagannatha Kshetra, and not alluding to other holy places, it differs in the locality of its origin from the other Khandas, and is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal The work does not appear to be known in the South of India

---

From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol, I (1832) p 81—86.

III AGNI PURANA

The *Agni Purana*, or more correctly, in a derivative form, the Agneya Purana, is one of the eighteen principal Puránas Although, in common with the other compositions so termed, it is attributed to Vyasa, it is narrated as usual by his disciple Suta, and was received by him from the Muni Vasishtha, to whom it was communicated by Agni, whence its denomination

According to the assertion of its own text the Agneya Purana contains fourteen thousand stanzas, the Bhagavata and other authorities give it 15000 or 16,000 The copy to which this account refers has about the former number

The text is divided into a number of small sections, according to the subject, but without any enumeration

ıe number of them ın the present ınstance amounted › 332 Colonel Wilford speaks of a supplement,* and f a chapter, apparently the same, which he calls the 3rd, or last The supplement, however, from which e derives his account of the modern princes of India p to the Mohammedan invasion, is no part of the work to which the name of Agneya Purana is applied t is clearly a distinct and subsequent composition

The Agneya Purana is interesting from the variety of the subjects of which it treats, and in which it deviates very materially from the definition given by its own reputed author of the contents of a Purana These Agni declares to be five primitive creation, subsequent creations, the genealogies of demigods and kings, the reigns of the Manus, and the histories of royal dynasties* These, however occur but imperfectly in the body of this work, and the far greater portion of its contents is of a widely different character

After the usual opening the *Agneya Purana* describes the ten *Avataras*, and in the relation of those of Ramachandra and Krishna follows avowedly the Ramáyana and Mahabhárata, being consequently posterior to those works

The ensuing chapters relate to the worship of Krishna, as Narayana or Vishnu, this Purana being of the *Vaishnava* class at the same time it leans very favourably to the worship of Siva, as the Linga, and is full of *Tantrika* ceremonies in honor of that form

* [See above p 1]

of the deity It was compiled therefore probably anterior to any wide separation between the Saiva and Vaishnava sects, and it was undoubtedly prior to that modification of the Vaishnava faith, which pays such infinite veneration to Krishna as Gopala, or Govinda, or Bala Gopala, the cowherd or the infant god, no allusion to whose worship has been found, nor has the name of his favourite mistress Radha once been encountered

The ritual, including the ceremonies of the Homa, or burnt offering, the Mantras, or mystical formulæ, the Mandalas, or mystical diagrams, the Pavitra, or purificatory thread, the erection and consecration of temples, images, tanks, gardens, flags, jars, &c extends through a number of chapters, it is in its general purport Vaishnava, but the Linga and several of the Tantrika forms of Durga are also especially reverenced, Mantras are abundantly introduced, as are the acts and gesticulations with which they are muttered or recited The style in which they are narrated is however abrupt and obscure, and the ceremonial so confusedly and indistinctly laid down, that the whole has the appearance of a string of garbled extracts rather than of a systematic detail There is a general correspondence between these chapters with those of the Sarada Tilaka and Mantra Mahódadhi, but it does not appear that they are identically the same

This chapter is followed by the Bhuvana Kosha (the description of the universe,) which corresponds generally with the same in other Puránas, but is much

less explicit than in some of them This chapter comprises the Tírthas, or places of pilgrimage, of which however it enumerates very few, and those but briefly It is worthy of notice that the Narmada and Srí Saila *are especially noticed*, *whilst the northern mountains* are not mentioned, and also that Benares is called Avimukta* in its religious character, whence it may be inferred, that the chief shrine was that of Siva, as Avimukteswara, not Visweswara, the form that has been most popular for some centuries at least The site of Benares was the same as at present, or between the Varana and the Así rivulets

The Máhátmyas, or legends of the few Tírthas noticed, are very brief, except that of Gaya which is so very *minute*, *that it may be suspected to be an interpolation*, as it is not in keeping with the rest, nor with the manner in which all such subjects are usually disposed of in a Puranic miscellany Such interpolations *or rather appendages are not at all uncommon*, although the legends are more frequently attached to some of the other Puranas, as the Brahmanda and Skanda We have, however, a case in point with the *Agni Purana*, *there being current in the South of India* a work called the *Kaveri Mahatmyam* of the Agni Purana, which is never found in the copies of the Purana itself, and which indeed is very nearly as extensive as the whole work of which it is called a section**

* [Weber, Ind Stud II 73 Dasakumara charitam, c 4 init.]
** [Mackenzie Collection I 67]

The Tirthas are followed by the description of the Indian continent, and other portions of the world, also the distances and dimensions of the regions below and above it. The whole of this chapter has not been compared with other works, but in some passages, particularly the description of the sun's car, it is word for word the same with the text of the Vishnu Purana being in other respects, however, much less full and satisfactory than that work

The description of the sun and planets leads to the astronomical or astrological section, and that to magical rites and formulæ, from these the work proceeds rather abruptly to the periods of the Manwantaras, and then to the civil institutes of the Hindu caste, as birth investiture, marriage, death, &c the duties of the religious orders, and the contemplation of the deity, conformably to the tenets of the Vedanta a long string of Vratas or religious obligations, both special and occasional, follows The next subject discussed is that of gifts as religious duties, and this branch of the work finally closes with the description of corporeal austerities of a meritorious and pious complexion

The next portion of the Agneya Purana treats at considerable length, and with many interesting particulars, of the duties of princes, beginning with the ceremonies of their coronation, and comprehending their civil and military obligations, it forms what constituted the Niti of Hindu writers, (Polity or the art of government,) and is of a character with which Hindu ideas have long ceased to be familiar Some of the

details correspond accurately enough with those that occur in a passage of the Dasa Kumara*, and both are probably indebted to a common source, possibly the work ascribed to Chanakya, cited by the author of the *Dasa Kumára* As the system is wholly unmixed with foreign notions, and is purely Hindu, it can only relate to a state of things anterior to the Mohammedan invasion, it is not a necessary consequence, it is true, that the Agneya Purana should bear a similar date, but it is an argument rather in favour of such a belief, and contributes with other grounds to authorize such a conclusion, if not for the whole work, for a very extensive portion

The like genuine Hindu character belongs to the sections that follow on the shape of weapons and on archery the phraseology and practice of which are no longer known These sections of the Agneya Purana are indeed particularly valuable, as they preserve almost, if not quite, singly, the memory of former regal and martial usages

The chapters on the subject of judicature and law are so far curious, that they are literally the same as the text of the Mitakshara, ascribed to the Muni Yajnavalkya The antiquity of that text is, in the estimation of the Hindus, extravagantly remote, but without reference to their belief, it is certainly not very modern, as passages have been found on inscriptions in every part of India, dated in the tenth and eleventh

---

* [ed. Wilson p 16]

centuries To have been so widely diffused, and to have then attained a general character as an authority, a considerable time must have elapsed, and the work must date therefore long prior to those inscriptions, at the same time, this throws little light on the period at which the Purana was compiled, the author of which might in any day transcribe the code of Yajnavalkya, although it is possible, that so undisguised a transfer may have preceded the time at which the legislative code was in general and extended circulation

The chapters on law are followed by a rather miscellaneous series regarding the perusal of the Vedas, the averting of threatened ill fortune burnt offerings, and the worship of various deities We have then a short but curious chapter on the branches of the Vedas, and speaking of the Puranas, the following remarkable passage occurs "six persons received the Puránas from Vyasa, and were his pupils, their names are Suta, Lomaharsha, Sumati, Maitreya, Sansapáyana, and Savarni" These, therefore, are probably the real authors of most, if not of all the Puranas It is said also, that Sansapayana and others compiled a Sanhita, or epitome of all the Puranas*

The next chapter on gifts to be made, when the Puranas are read, contains the list of the Puranas and the enumeration of the stanzas they contain In this respect many differences occur from similar enumera-

* [cf Vishnu Pur p 283]

tions in other Puranas, and the Siva Purana is altogether omitted With regard to the narrators and the chief subjects at least, in some cases, this detail varies from the text of the works as now found, these variations will be best noticed when we come to the respective Puránas to which they relate

The list of the Puranas is followed by the genealogical chapters detailing the families of the Sun and Moon, but more particularly the latter, and especially the houses of Yadu and Puru to the time of Krishna and the Pándavas These chapters agree generally with the dynasties usually detailed, but the lists are for the greater part very dry and abrupt, whilst few of the ordinary legends are preserved, and those so concisely as to be very obscure There are some details relating to Krishna of a rather remarkable character The time at which these chapters close leaves us no inference regarding the age of the compilation

The next subject is medicine, taken avowedly from the instruction given by Dhanwantari to Susruta, or from the medical work attributed to the latter, the extracts are, however, very injudiciously made, with an utter disregard of method, and with a perverse selection of every thing least important it also alludes to the classification of medicaments as hot and cold, and although it does not attach the same importance to the system as is given to it in Mohammedan medicine, yet its introduction at all is rather in favour of its being derived from such a source, for it is not certain that the ancient writers Charaka and Susruta laid

any greater stress upon these particular properties, than they are entitled to, without reference to a theoretical system The part of the Purána likewise includes much mystic medicine or curing by charms

Another set of chapters on mystic rites and formulæ follows, and on the worship of different forms of Siva and Devi The whole so incompatible with a Vaishnava work that it is difficult not to suppose them additions by other and perhaps later hands

Poetry and rhetoric form the next subjects, and conform to the systems usually received the authority of Pingala is specified The work concludes with a grammar, omitting the verbs the system is that of Pánini and Kátyáyana the commentator on Pánini is cited by name The compilation is therefore posterior to the existence of the great body of Hindu poetical compositions, and to the consummation of the grammatical construction of the Sanskrit language

From this general sketch of the Agneya Purána it is evident that it is a compilation from various works, that consequently it has no claim in itself to any great antiquity, although from the absence of any exotic materials it might be pronounced earlier, with perhaps a few exceptions, than the Mohammedan invasion From the absence also of a controversial or sectarial spirit it is probably anterior to the struggles that took place in the 8th and 9th centuries of our era, between the followers of Siva and Vishnu As a mere compilation, however, its date is of little importance, except as furnishing a testimony to that of the ma-

terials of which it is composed. Many of these may pretend no doubt to considerable antiquity, particularly the legendary accounts of the Avataras, the section on regal polity and judicature, and the genealogical chapters: how far the rest may be ancient, is perhaps questionable, for there can be little doubt that the Purana as it now exists, differing from its own definition of Purana, and comprehending such incongruous admixtures, is not the entire work as it at first stood. It is not unlikely that many chapters were arbitrarily supplied about 8 or 9 centuries ago, and a few perhaps even later, to fill up the chasms which time and accident had made in the original Agneya Purána.

From the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 217. 33

IV. BRAHMA VAIVARTTA PURANA

The *Brahma Vaivartta Purana* is perhaps the most decidedly sectarian work of the whole collection, and has no other object than to recommend faith in Krishna and Rádhá. Subservient to this purpose, it records a great variety of legends, of which no traces can be found in any of the other Puranas, and it deals but sparingly in those which are common to all. It is of little value as a collateral authority, therefore, and most of the stories it contains are too insipid and ab-

surd to deserve investigation It contains, however, a few remarkable passages that bear an ancient character, and it throws more light than any similar work upon the worship of the female principle or Prakriti, as well as of Krishna and Radha.

The Brahma Vaivartta is supposed to be communicated by Sauti, the son of Suta, the original narrator of the Puranas, to Saunaka, a sage, at an assembly of similar characters, at the forest of Naimisha, whom he happens to visit, and who ask him to relate the work This commencement opens several of the Puranas, and more especially the Mahatmyas or chapters-descriptive of the virtues of some place or person, said to be taken from some Purána In this case the Rishis state, as the motive of their inquiry, their dread of the evil tendency of the present age, and their desire for emancipation, and their hope to be secured in the one, and defended from the other, by being imbued with Bhakti, or faith in Hari, through the medium of the Purana, which they style the essence of the Puranas, the source of faith, felicity, and final liberation, and the dissipator of the errors of the Puránas, and the Upapuranas, and even of the Vedas!

Sauti acquired his knowledge of this work from Vyasa, by whom it was arranged in its present form, to the extent of eighteen thousand Slokas Vyasa received the Sútra, the thread or outline of it, from Narada, who had learnt it from Narayana Rishi, the son of Dharma, to whom it had been communicated by his father Dharma had been made acquainted with it by

Brahma, who had been taught it by Krishna himself, in his peculiar and deathless sphere, the celestial Goloka —a paradise, it may be observed, of which no trace occurs in any other Purana The Brahma Vaivartta is so named, because it records the manifestations of the Supreme Being in worldly forms, by the interposition of Krishna, who is himself the Supreme Spirit, the Parabrahma or Paramatma from whom Prakriti, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and the rest proceeded.

The Brahma Vaivartta Purana is divided into four books or Khandas, the Brahma Khanda, the Prakriti Khanda, the Ganesa Khanda and the Krishna Janma Khanda, treating separately of the nature and acts of the supreme, of the female personification of matter, of the birth and adventures of Ganesa, and of the birth and actions of Krishna We shall notice the principal subjects of each division

The *Brahma Khanda* begins with the creation of the universe, as taking place after an interval of universal destruction The world is described as waste and void, but the Supreme Krishna, the sole existent and eternal Being is supposed to be present, in the centre of a luminous sphere of immeasurable extent, and inconceivable splendor From him the three qualities, crude matter, individuality, and the elements proceed, also Narayana or the four armed Vishnu, in his ordinary garb and decorations, and Sankara, smeared with ashes and armed with a trident Narayana or Vishnu comes from the right, and Siva from the left side of the primeval Krishna, and Brahma springs from

his navel all the gods and goddesses in like manner proceed from his person, and each upon his or her birth utters a short prayer or hymn in honour of him the following are the salutations of the three principal persons of the Hindu pantheon

Narayana s address to *Krishna*

"I pay reverence to the cause of causes, to him who is at once the act and the object, the superior boon the giver and meriter, and source of blessings, who is religious austerity, and its everlasting fruit, and himself the eternal ascetic, who is beautiful, black as a new cloud delighted in his own spirit, who is void of desire, who assumes forms at will, who annihilates the five desires, and who is the cause of desire, who is all things, the lord of all things, and the unsurpassed form, which is the seed of all things, who is embodied in the Vedas, who is the seed of them, the fruit of the Vedas, and its bestower, who is learned in the Vedas, the ritual they enjoin, and the best of all who are conversant with their doctrines"

Śiva s address

'I adore him, the invincible, the giver, the lord and cause of victory, the best of the bestowers of victory, and victory itself, who is the lord and cause of all things, lord of the lord of all things, and cause of the cause of all things, who is present in all, who upholds all, who destroys all, generates all, who is the cause of the preservation of all, who is all things, who is

the fruit, the giver of the fruit, its seed, and its support, who is identical with light, the irradiator of all, and supreme of all those who shine with divine radiance"

Brahma's address

"I adore Krishna, who is free from the three qualities, the one imperishable Govinda, who is invisible and void of form, who is visible and assumed the shape of a cowherd, who seems a youth in years, who is of mild deportment, the beloved of the Gopís, of lovely aspect, black as a new cloud, and beautiful as a myriad of Kandarpas Inhabiting the place of the Rasa in his sojourn in the groves of Vrindavan, the lord of the mystic dance, and its performer and the delighter in the graces of its evolutions

The other divinities continue in the same strain, and the tendency of the hymns furnishes a key to the whole work, the object of which is to identify the cowherd of Vrindavan with the supreme cause of the world, or to claim for Krishna a rank which the followers of Vishnu and Siva demand exclusively, for the object of their respective adoration with much more reason, it must be confessed, for the actions of Krishna are even still more preposterously incompatible with a divine character than those of his competitors for pre eminence

After the several deities are produced from various parts of Krishna's person, he retires into the Rasamandala, a chamber or stage* for the performance of

a kind of dance, to which the followers of this divinity attach much importance, although it seems to be no more than a kind of dramatic representation of Krishna's dancing and sporting with the Gopís. There Rádhá, his favourite mistress, proceeds from his heart, from the pores of her skin spring three hundred millions of Gopís, or nymphs of Vrindávan, and an equal number of Gopas, the swains of the preceding, originate from the pores of Krishna's skin, the herds they are to attend owe their existence to the same inexhaustible source. The Rása and Rádhá, and the origin of the kine, and their keepers, male or female, are amongst the chief characteristic peculiarities of the Brahma Vaivartta Purana.

After Krishna's thus evolving the different orders of subordinate deities, the work proceeds to describe the devotion of Siva towards his creator, and takes this opportunity of expatiating upon the different degrees of Bhakti, or faith, and the various kinds of Mukti, or salvation.

The work of creation is then resumed by Brahmá, who begets by his wife Sávitri a various and odd progeny, as the science of logic, the modes of music, days, years, and ages, religious rites, diseases, time, and death. He has also an independent offspring of his own, or Viswakarmá, from his navel, the sage Sanandá, and his three brothers, from his heart, the eleven Rudras from his forehead, and sundry sages from his ears, mouth, &c.

The legends that follow relating to the daughters of

Dharma, and their marriages with various patriarchs, from whom terrestrial objects proceeded, are told in the usual strain. In describing the origin of the mixed classes of mankind, this work contains a peculiar legend, which makes a certain number of them the issue of the divine architect Viśwakarmá by Ghritáchí, a nymph of heaven. The chapter often occurs as a separate treatise under the title of Játi Nirnaya, and is considered as an authority of some weight with respect to the descent of the mixed tribes*, although of a purely legendary character.

The succeeding sections contain some legends of little importance, until the 16th, which is occupied with a short, but curious list of medical writers and writings. The first work on medical science entitled the Ayur Veda was, like the other Vedás, the work of Brahmá, but he gave it to Surya, the sun, who, like the Phœbus of the Greeks, is the fountain of medical knowledge amongst the Hindus. He had sixteen scholars, to each of whom a Sanhitá or compendium is ascribed: none of the works attributed to them are now to be procured.

The chapters that next follow relate a legendary story of the wife of a Gandharva named Málávatí, the efficacy of various Mantras, the story of Nárada, the sage, and rules for the performance of daily purificatory and religious rites. The 28th and 29th chapters, the last of the book, are occupied with the description of

* [See the text in Aufrecht's Catal. Codd. Mss. Sanscrit. I, 21.]

Krishna, of his peculiar heaven or Goloka, of the holy Rishi Narayana, and of his residence The style and purport of the whole are peculiar to this Purana, and similar to the address of the deities cited above Goloka is said to be situated 500 millions of Yojanas above the Lokas of Siva and Vishnu It is a sphere of light, tenanted by Gopas, Gopis, and cows, the only human persons admissible to its delights are pure Vaishnavas the faithful votaries of Krishna It appears, however, that the author of this Purana, who in all probability is the inventor of Goloka, had no very precise notions of his own work, as he calls it in one place square, and in another round, and whilst he is content in one passage to give it the moderate diameter of 30 millions of Yojanas, he extends its circumference in another to a thousand millions

The next section of this Purana is also of a peculiar character It relates to *Prakriti*, the passive agent in creation, personified matter, or the goddess nature The Puranas in general follow in regard to their cosmogony the Sankhya school of philosophy, in which Prakriti is thus described Prakriti or Mula Prakriti is the root or plastic origin of all, termed Pradhana, the chief one, the universal material cause It is eternal matter, undiscrete, undistinguishable as destitute of parts, inferrible from its effects, being productive, but no production*

According to the same system, the soul is termed

* [Sankhya Kar 3 Colebrooke s Essays p 153. Vishnu Pur p 10]

Purusha or Puman, which means man or male, but the Sánkhya doctrine is twofold, one atheistical, the other theistical The former defines the soul to be neither produced nor productive, not operating upon matter, but independent and co-existent, the latter identifies soul with Iswara, or God, who is infinite and eternal, and who rules over the world and it is to this latter system that the Puranas appertain, only in this Iśwara they recognise the peculiar object of their devotion, whichever of the Hindu triad that may be, or even, as in the work before us, superadding a fourth in Krishna, who is every where else regarded but as a manifestation of Vishnu, and in a remarkable passage of the Mahábhárata* is said to be no more than an Avatar of a hair plucked from the head of that divinity

In the true spirit of mythology which is fully as much poetical as religious, the figure of prosopopeia is carried by the Hindus to its utmost verge and we need not wonder therefore to find spirit and matter converted by the Puranik bards into male and female personifications, with the attributes adapted to either sex, or derived from the original source of either representation Prakriti is consequently held to be not only the productive agent in the creation of the world, but she is regarded as Máya, the goddess of delusion, the suggester of that mistaken estimate of human existence, which is referable to the gross perceptions of

* [I 7308]

our elementary construction. With this character the Paurāṇiks have combined another, and confounding the instrument with the action, matter with the impulse by which it was animated, they have chosen to consider Prakṛiti also as the embodied manifestation of the divine will, as the act of creation, or the inherent power of creating, co-existing with the supreme. This seems to be the ruling idea in the Brahma Vaivartta, in which the meaning of the word Prakṛiti, and the origin of this agent in creation, are thus explained:—

"The prefix Pra means pre-eminent, Kṛiti means creating: that goddess who was pre-eminent in creation is termed Prakṛiti. Again, Pra means best, or is equivalent to the term Sattwa, the quality of purity, Kṛi implies middling, the quality of passion, and Ti means worse or that of ignorance. She who is invested with all power is identifiable with the three properties, and is the principal in creation, and is therefore termed Prakṛiti. Pra also signifies first or foremost, and Kṛiti creation; she who was the beginning of creation, is called Prakṛiti."

"The supreme spirit in the act of creation became by Yoga twofold; the right side was male, the left was Prakṛiti. She is of one form with Brahma. She is Māyā, eternal and imperishable. Such as the spirit, such is the inherent energy (the Śakti), as the faculty of burning is inherent in fire." *

* [The original is quoted by Aufrecht, in his Catal. Bodl. p. 22, b and 23, a.]

The idea of personifying the divine agency, being once conceived, was extended by an obvious analogy to similar cases, and the persons of the Hindu triad being equally susceptible of active energies, their energies were embodied as their respective Prakritis, Saktis, or goddesses From them the like accompaniment was conferred upon the whole pantheon, and *finally upon man, women being regarded as portions of the primeval Prakriti* The whole being evidently a clumsy attempt to graft the distinction of the sexes as prevailing in earth, hell, and heaven, upon a metaphysical theory *of the origin of the universe*

The primeval Prakriti, according to our authority, which now becomes wholly mythological, resolved herself, *by command of Krishna, into five primitive* portions These were Durgá, the Sakti of Mahádeva, Lakshmí, the Sakti of Vishnu, Saraswati, the goddess of language, Savitrí, the mother of the Vedas, and Rádha, the favourite of Krishna

In the same manner as the primary creator of the world multiplies his appearances, and without losing any of his individual substance, occupies by various emanations from it different frames, so the radical Prakriti exists in different shapes, and in various proportions, distinguished as Ansas, portions, Kalás, divisions, and Kalansas and Ansansas, or subdivisions, or portions of portions Thus Gangá, Tulasí, Manasá, Shashthí, and Kali, are Ansarúpas, or forms having a portion of the original Prakriti, Swáha, Swadhá, Dakshina, Swasti, a host of virtues and vices, excel

lences and defects, and all the wives of the inferior deities are Kalárúpas, forms constituted of a minor division of Prakriti; whilst all the female race are animated by her minuter portions, or subdivisions, and they are virtuous or vicious, according as the quality of goodness, passion, or ignorance, derived from their great original, predominates in the portion of which they are respectively constituted. Women who go astray, therefore, have by this system a better excuse than the stars.

The compiler of this Purána is very little scrupulous as to the consistency of his narrative, and assigns to the principal goddesses other origins than that which he gives in the beginning of the Brahma Khanda, or in the first chapter of this section. Thus Saraswati, who came out from the mouth of Krishna in the former, and in the latter is said to be one of the five subdivisions of Prakriti, is now described as proceeding from the tongue of Radhá; and Lakshmí, who in one place is also a portion of Prakriti, and in another issues from the mind of Krishna, is described in this part of the work as one of two goddesses, into which the first Saraswati was divided; the two being Saraswati proper, and Kamalá or Lakshmí. These incoherencies are quite characteristic of this Purána, which from first to last is full of contradictory repetitions, as if the writer was determined to make a large book out of a few ideas, the precise nature of which he forgot as fast as he committed them to paper.

After this account of the origin of the principal

female forms, the third chapter contains a more particular description of the sphere of Krishna or Goloka It then repeats an account of the creation of the world, through the agency of Brahma, and the following chapters of the section are devoted to legendary stories of the principal Prakritis, or Saraswatí, Ganga, Tulasí, Savitrí, Lakshmí, Swáhá, Swadhá, Dakshina, Shashthí, Mangala, Chandí*, Manasa, Surabhí, Rádhika and Durga In the course of these narratives various others are introduced, illustrative of the characters of gods, saints, heroes, and heroines, all tending to show the fervour with which they worshipped Krishna Accounts of Goloka, a description of hell, and an explanation of the chronological system of the Puranas, are interwoven, besides other subjects of a peculiar and legendary nature, conveying little information or amusement

The third section of the Brahma Vaivartta Purana is the *Ganeśa Khanda*, giving an account of the birth and actions of that deity, in a series of legends, which are not of frequent occurrence, and are in a great degree, if not altogether, peculiar to the work

Parvati after her marriage with Siva, being without a child, and being desirous to obtain one, is desired by her husband to perform the Punyaka Vrata This is the worship of Vishnu,* to be begun on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Magha, and con

* [or M and Ch together as Mangalachandiká see Aufrecht's Catal p 24 b]

tinued for a year, on every day of which flowers, fruits, cakes, vessels, gems, gold, &c are to be presented, and a thousand Brahmanas fed, and the performer of the rite is to observe most carefully a life of outward and inward purity, and to fix his mind on Hari or Vishnu Parvatí having with the aid of Sanatkumara, as directing priest, accomplished the ceremony on the banks of the Ganges, returns after some interval, in which she sees Krishna, first as a body of light, and afterwards as an old Brahmana, come to her dwelling The reward of her religious zeal being delayed, she is plunged in grief, when a viewless voice tells her to go to her apartment where she will find a son, who is the lord of Goloka, or Krishna, that deity having assumed the semblance of her son, in recompence of her devotions

In compliment to this occasion, all the gods came to congratulate Siva and Parvati, and were severally admitted to see the infant amidst the splendid cohort was Sani, the planet Saturn, who, although anxious to pay his homage to the child, kept his eyes stedfastly fixed on the ground Parvatí asking him the cause of this, he told her, that being immersed in meditation upon Vishnu, he had disregarded the caresses of his wife, and in resentment of his neglect she had denounced upon him the curse that whomever he gazed upon he should destroy to obviate the evil consequences of this imprecation he avoided looking any one in the face Parvati having heard his story paid no regard to it, but considering, that what must

be, must be, gave him permission to look at her son Sani calling Dharma to witness his having leave, took a peep at Ganesa, on which the child's head was severed from the body, and flew away to the heaven of Krishna, where it reunited with the substance of him, of whom it was part Durga, taking the headless trunk in her arms, cast herself weeping on the ground, and the gods thought it decent to imitate her example, all except Vishnu, who mounted Garuda,* and flew off to the river Pushpabhadra, where finding an elephant asleep he took off his head, and flying back with it, clapped it on the body of Ganesa, hence the body of that deity is crowned with its present uncouth capital On the restoration of Ganesa to life, valuable gifts were made to the gods and brahmans by the parents, and by Parvati's father, the personified Himalaya The unfortunate Sani was again anathematised and in consequence of the curse of Parvati has limped ever since

These legends and others of minor importance, with the various prayers and addresses of the deities, occupy the first 13 chapters The next five give an account of the birth of Kartikeya In the 19th and 21st chapters the reason why Ganesa's head was lopped off is given Siva offended with Aditya, the sun, slew him, and although he restored him to life, incurred the wrath of the sage Kasyapa, who doomed his (Siva's) son to lose his head The elephant was Indra's elephant, and was decapitated because Indra threw over his neck the garland of flowers, which the sage Durvasas gave him, and the disrespect of which, with the consequent de-

gradation of Indra, is noticed in various Puranas, although in all other respects with different results Indra was no loser of an elephant by his decapitation, as Vishnu, moved by the prayers of his mate, gave him another head in place of that which he took away The humiliation of Indra, and his recovery of Lakshmi or glory, are the subjects of the next five chapters, and the remaining half of this section is occupied with the story of Ganesa's losing one of his tusks It was broken off by Parasurama, and the occurrence therefore involves his history, and that of his ancestor Bhrigu, the possession of the all bestowing cow by Jamadagni, the attempt to carry her off by the king Kartaviryarjuna, the conflict that ensued, and the death of the sage Parasurama's avenging his father's loss, by slaying Kartaviryarjuna, his combats with the kings, who came to the aid of that prince, and the destruction of the military race

After this last exploit, Parasurama, who was a favourite disciple of Siva, went to Kailasa to visit his master, on arriving at the inner apartments, his entrance was opposed by Ganesa, as his father was asleep Parasurama nevertheless urged his way, and after a long and absurd dialogue, in which devotion to Krishna is most abruptly and diffusely introduced, the parties came to blows Ganesa had at first the advantage, seizing Parasurama in his trunk, and giving him a twirl that left him sick and senseless, on recovering, Ráma threw his axe at Ganesa, who recognizing it as his father's weapon (Siva having given it to Paraśu-

rama) received it with all humility upon one of his tusks, which it immediately severed, and hence Ganesa has but one tusk, and is known by the names Ekadanta and Ekadanshtra, (the single-tusked) Parvatí was highly incensed with Parasurama, and was about to curse him, when Krishna, of whom he was the worshipper, appeared as a boy and appeased her indignation This part of the work ends with a recapitulation of the names of Ganesa, his quarrel with Tulasí, in consequence of an imprecation from whom it was that be lost one of his tusks, Parasurama's adoration of him, and retiring to lead an ascetic life

The last section, the *Krishna Janma Khanda*, is very voluminous, containing 132 chapters It gives an account of Krishna's birth and adventures, as narrated by Narayana to Nárada

The narrative is introduced by a panegyric of the individual, who is a real Vaishnava, or thoroughly devoted to Krishna and who consequently becomes endowed with all knowledge and virtue, acquires superhuman faculties on earth, is elevated to the region of Krishna after death, and liberates himself, and seven generations above and below him, from the penalty of regeneration All crimes avoid him, or are consumed in his purity, like moths in a lamp, and any one meeting him on the road is thereby cleansed of the sins he may have contracted for seven preceding lives, no course of religious practices or devout penances is necessary to the attainment of such miraculous excellence, and the love of Hari or Krishna

is the only condition required He who has received the initiatory mantra, who repeats the name of that divinity constantly, who transfers to him every worldly desire and possession, whose thoughts ever dwell upon him in prosperity or distress, and the hair of whose body stands erect with rapture on his simply hearing any of the appellations of Krishna articulated, has fulfilled every obligation, and merits the designation of a Vaishnava

According to this Purana, and this only, the original cause of Krishna's incarnation was his love of Radha The Radha of the Goloka had been compelled to assume a mortal body by the imprecation of a Gopa of that region, Kridama, the minister of his master's pleasures, and the object of Radha's anger Him she condemned in a fit of jealous indignation to become the Asura Sankhachúda, and he in retaliation sentenced her to become a nymph of Vrindavana To console her in this condition Krishna also came down to this world, as her lover, at the same time, however, granting the prayers of Brahma and the gods, who solicited his appearance to relieve the earth from the burthen of the iniquities under which she laboured, the legitimate purpose of every descent or Avatara In order to provide Krishna and Radha with suitable associates, all the gods and goddesses also assumed their respective characters as Gopas and Gopís, or members of the family of Yadu, and the heroes of the Mahabharata Vasudeva, the father of Krishna, was an incarnation of Kasyapa, and Devakí, his mother, of Aditi

Nanda was an incarnation of one of the Vasus, and Yasodá of his spouse Dhará Durga was incarnate as the daughter of the bear Jambavan Jambavatí, one of Krishna's brides, and Lakshmi, multiplied herself into the sixteen thousand princesses, whom Krishna enumerated amongst his wives

The story of Vasudeva and Devakí, and the birth of Kŕishna are narrated in the usual manner, which gives occasion to directions for the celebration of the Janmáshthamí, or festival in commemoration of the birth day of Krishna on the 8th lunation of the month Srávan, and the Puráńa authorises its observance agreeably to the practice of the Sáktas, which allows it to be independent of the moon's entering into the asterism Rohiní, although should the position of the moon and the lunation occur together, the festival is the more holy, and is termed Jayantí or triumphant The festival is on no account to commence on that day, in which a part of the 7th lunation may occur The variety of doctrine and observance on this head is explained in the Asiatic Researches (vol xvi, page 92, note) To omit the observance altogether *is a crime* not to be expiated, and is equal in atrocity to the murder of a hundred brahmans

The infant exploits of Krishńa are next related, and require no particular comment Garga, the Muni, points out Radha, the daughter of Vrishabhánu, as an eligible bride for the youth, and acquaints Nanda, Kŕishna's foster-father, of the secret of her divinity, in which he thus expounds her name

"The letter R preserves persons from sin, the vowel A obviates regeneration, Dh shortens the period of mortal existence, and the second long vowel sunders all worldly bonds" The marriage was accordingly celebrated with great rejoicing, and the distribution of viands in large quantities, and the donation of immense treasures The incompatibility of such profusion with the condition of Nanda, the cowherd, is of no consideration to the author of this work, although it has saved the author of the Bhagavata, the original of the greater part of the story, from any such gross extravagancies

The hero of the festivities steals the curds in the next chapter, for which he is tied to a tree, and gets a whipping from his foster-mother Yasoda After she leaves him, the tree falls, and from it emerges Nalakuvera, the son of Kuvera, condemned to this metamorphosis for indecent behaviour in the presence of Devala[1] Muni

A long chapter is next occupied with the praises of Radhá by Krishna and Brahma, which inculcate her supremacy over all other divinities, male or female, and her being inseparable from and one with Krishna The sports of the juvenile god are then related, and his destruction of the demons Vaka, Kesi, and Pralamba, the construction of palaces at Gokula, for all its inhabitants, by Viswakarmá, the divine architect, of whose architectural exploits the village of Gokula

[1] One place has Galava

now offers no vestiges This part of the work comprises the history of Vrishábhánu, and his wife Kalavatí, the parents of Rádhá, and who were rewarded by her birth for the virtues of their former existence, as Suchandra, a king of the family of Manu, and Kalávatí, a will-born daughter of the Pitris or progenitors of mankind This story includes a dissertation upon the virtues of women

Several chapters follow, partly describing the actions of Krishna, and partly expatiating upon his excellencies and those of Rádhá

A legend of Sahasika, the son of the son of Bali, follows, who was turned into an ass by the curse of Durvasas for having disturbed the meditation of that sage, in the prosecution of his amours with Tilottama, a nymph of heaven On the penitence of the couple, Durvasas announced to them, that the ass should be destroyed by the discus of Krishna, in consequence of which the spirit of Sahasika should receive final emancipation, and that Tilottama should be born the daughter of Banasura, in which capacity she should become the bride of Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna

The marriage of Durvasas with Kadali, the daughter of Aurva Muni, is the next legend, in this the violent temper of his wife excites the sage's wrath, and he reduces her to ashes Repenting subsequently of his anger, and soothed by the appearance of Brahma, he changes the remains of his wife into a plantain tree The same sage is the subject of another legend of great celebrity amongst the Vaishnavas, as illustrating

Krishna's superiority over Siva Durvasas, a votary of that deity, being offended with Ambarísha, a devout worshipper of Vishnu, attempted to destroy him, but was repelled, and narrowly escaped destruction himself by the Chakra or discus of Vishnu, which came to the assistance of the king The merits of fasting on the eleventh day of the fortnight aré the subject of the next chapter, and they are followed by an explanation of the eight names of Durga, which again is relieved by a story of Krishna, carrying away and hiding the clothes of the nymphs of Gokula, whilst they were bathing in the Jamna He gives up his booty upon being prayed to by Radha, in the usual strain, eulogising his divine supremacy, and identification with all things known or unknown Several legends of minor importance follow, to the 32nd chapter, when that, and the two following, are occupied with the advances made by Mohiní, a heavenly nymph, to Brahma, and his insensibility, in resentment of which she curses him, that he shall not receive any adoration from mankind; the effects of which malediction are said to be evinced in the neglect which Brahma experienced from the professors of the Hindu faith

The attention of the work is next directed, through a series of chapters, to the legends of the Saiva faith, or Brahma's discomfiture by Siva, the asceticism of the latter, his marriage with Satí, the daughter of Daksha, her burning herself, and Siva's second marriage with Parvatí, the daughter of Himalaya Stories of Vrishaspati, Indra, Vahni, Durvasas, and Dhanwan-

tari then follow All these legends are supposed to be narrated by Krishna to Radhá for her entertainment, and their general purport is to shew, that the personages to whom they refer are immeasurably inferior to Krishna and his votaries

Some cases are then recorded of the humiliation of the leading personages of the Hindu Pantheon, in consequence of their incurring the displeasure of Krishna or some of his followers Vishnu, whilst boasting himself the god of all, was swallowed by Krishna in the form of a Bhairava, all but his head and was restored to his form on recovering his senses, Brahma, whilst making a similar vaunt, was surprised to behold multitudes of Brahmas and Brahmandas, or creations distinct from himself and his works, and Siva was condemned to pay the penalty of his pride by his marriage with Satí, and distraction for her loss which were the delusions of Krishna

The 62nd chapter contains a summary account of Ramachandra, and the next ten proceed with an account of the transactions that immediately preceded Krishna's departure from Vrindavan for Mathura, whither he was attracted, with his supposed father Nanda, by a special invitation from Kansa, his uncle, with a view to his destruction, at a sacrifice offered to Siva The result of this visit is the death of Kansa as described in other Puranas, but there is no detail of the previous wrestling, which occurs in the Bhágavata*

On taking final leave of his foster father Nanda, Krishna favours him with a code of regulations, for his moral and religious conduct he is not to look at a single star, nor the setting sun or moon, not to keep company with the wicked, nor to injure or insult Brahmanas, cows, and Vaishnavas, not to delay payment of the due fees to the priest who officiates at a ceremony, not to eat flesh or fish, not to vilify Siva, Durga, or Ganapati, and on no account to omit every possible demonstration of his love for Hari These injunctions extend to a great length, and are all of as little importance as the above There are some curious denunciations, however, against acts which are lawful in the institutes of Manu, and no distinction is here made between a Brahman who follows the profession of arms, and one who marries a woman of the Sudra caste There is also a singular leaning shown to the Saiva faith, and the man who forms a single Siva linga of clay is said to reside in heaven for 100 Kalpas The following scale is given of Krishna's affections "Of all tribes the Bráhmana is most esteemed by me, Lakshmí is still more beloved than a Brahman, Rádhá is dearer to me than Lakshmí, a faithful worshipper is dearer than Rádhá, and Sankara is the best beloved of all" The instructions to Nanda comprise also a dissertation upon dreams, upon knowledge of the divine nature, and on the duties of the different castes and orders of the Hindus, on the duties of women, and the expiation of offences This division of the work extends from the 75th to the 85th chapter

rásandha, the father-in-law of Kansa, whom Krishna had deposed and slain, Krishna and his tribe, on their expulsion from Mathurá, fled to the west coast of the peninsula, and there founded a new city. No notice whatever is taken of these revolutions in this work, although they are told at some length in the Mahábhárata, Vishnu Purána, and Bhágavata.* In a subsequent chapter, indeed, this Purána refers to the same events, although it does not particularise them, and Rukmí the brother of Rukminí reproaches Krishna with having fled to Dwaraká through fear of Jarásandha.

Krishna's marriage with Rukminí is next narrated, but he does not carry her off, as in other authorities. Her brother opposes his entrance into the city, but is defeated by Baladeva, and then Krishna enters, and is duly married to the princess in her father's presence. Every where else he runs away with her before the marriage, and Baladeva checks the pursuit.

In the next chapters a conversation between Rádhá and Yasodá expounds the purport of eleven names of Krishna, and these are succeeded by an account of the birth of Rukminí's son Pradyumna, his being carried off by a demon, and his recovery, the birth of other sons of Krishna, and marriage of the sage Durvásas to a daughter of Ugrasena. Krishna's share in the war of the Mahábhárata is very briefly dispatched, except a long hymn to him by Sisupála, whom he slew. The intrigue of Aniruddha, Krishna's grandson,

* [Mahábh. II. c. 13 ff. Vishnu Pur. V, 23. Bhág. Pur. X. 50.]

with Usha, the daughter of Vána, is narrated at some length in the usual style, and the unsuccessful contest waged by that prince against Krishna is protracted by the episodical insertion of a variety of stale legends to a disproportionate extent, these stories are related alternately by Aniruddha and Vána, as they stand prepared to engage in single combat for the purpose of proclaiming the respective might of Krishna and Siva, Vána being devoted to the worship of the latter divinity. Siva however, after vainly attempting to dissuade him from the conflict, is obliged to witness his votary's defeat, with that of Skanda and Bhadrakálí who had gone to his succour; and Vána becoming sensible of Krishna's supremacy consents to his daughter's union with Aniruddha.

The next chapters relate to the origin of the Bindusara Tírtha from the tears of Krishna; the reason why it is sinful to look at the moon on the 4th day of Bhádra, and Satrajit's obtaining that gem whose presence in a country insures its fertility. The adoration of Ganesa by Rádhá in the presence of the assembled deities is the subject of the 122nd and 123rd chapters, and as acknowledged in the text is one rarely treated of in other Puránas. Ganesa, not to be outdone, eulogises Rádhá in his turn, and is followed by Brahmá and Ananta. The worship of Ganesa by Rádhá marked the termination of the curse which had sentenced her to a mortal existence, and she was then restored to her celestial nature, in which Durgá is made to declare that there is no difference between

Rádha and herself, and whoever speaks in a depreciating manner of either, is equally punished in hell

Krishna having also offered worship to Ganesa returns to Dwaraka, and resumes his lessons to Nanda and his family he also prophesies the depravity of the world in the succeeding or Kali age, in which men will abstain from venerating Salagram stones and Tulasí plants and attach themselves assiduously to the service of Mlechhas barbarians and outcastes, who it is said also shall become the rulers of the country —expressions indicative of the prevalence of the Mohammedan authority, when the Purana was compiled

Radha after this returns to Goloka, with all the Gopas and Gopis of divine origin Krishna creating others to supply their place at Vrindavan The circumstances of Krishna s death, by a wound from a hunter, the destruction of his tribe, and the submersion of Dwaraka by the sea are next alluded to in so brief and obscure a manner, that without a previous knowledge of what is intended the notice would be quite unintelligible, and these events are lost sight of amidst the much more detailed addresses of the gods and goddesses, the ocean, the rivers, and particularly the Ganges, in which the sufferings of the earth, in consequence of Krishna's departure, are most pathetically lamented After Krishna s death the form that proceeded from his person went to the Sweta Dwípa, where it became two one half was Náráyaňa, the lord of Vaikuntha, the other was Krishna, the deity of Goloka, the su-

preme indescribable source of all, who ascended to his original seat, and was reunited to Rádhá

The Purana properly closes here, at the end of the 128th chapter, but Nárada, who has been its auditor, now hears from the narrator Narayana that he, Narada, was in his former life a Gandharva, the husband of 50 wives, one of whom is reborn, as well as himself, and by the boon of Siva is to be once more his bride Nárada submits rather reluctantly, and shortly after his marriage with the daughter of Srinjaya, who is declared to be one with Maya, runs away from his wife to perform penance, through which he is united with Hari

A supplementary chapter the 130th, follows, in which Súta, the ordinary narrator or recapitulator of the Puranas, relates two legends explaining the birth of Fire from Brahmá and of gold from Fire Chapter 131 is a short index to the Puránas The last chapter, 132, enumerates the different Paranas and Upapuranas, the five works called Pancharatra and the five Sanhitás or compendia of the Vaishnava faith It is also remarkable for its definition of the Mahabhárata, and the Ramayana, the former of which it terms an Itihasa, or history, and the latter a Kavya, or poem the work terminates with a eulogium on itself, the attentively hearing of one quarter of a verse of which is equal in merit to the gift of the heaven of Krishna

The preceding sketch of the contents and character of this work will probably have furnished sufficient evidence of its modern origin It is clearly subsequent

to the great body of Hindu literature, not only by the enumeration just noticed, but by reference to the several philosophical systems, the Tarka, Vaiseshika, Sánkhya, Patanjala, Mimánsa, and Vedanta, which occurs in a preceding passage Its being the latest of the Puranas is also apparent from its own avowal of its being intended to clear up the discrepancies observable in those works, and by the frequent assertion, that the legends it gives, particularly those respecting Ganesa, are not to be met with in the other Puránas That it was compiled subsequent to the Mohammedan invasion, is very probable from the allusions it contains to the supremacy of Mlechha rulers, and the particular branch of the Hindu system which it advocates renders it likely to have emanated from a sect, which there is reason to imagine originated about four centuries ago with Vallabhacharya and the Gosains of Gokula

From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol I p 431—42

V VISHNU PURANA

THE *Vishnu Purana*, as may be inferred from its appellation is eminently Vaishnava, and considers Vishnu one with the Supreme Being, Parama Brahma, and Paramatma

It is supposed to be related by Parasara, the grandson of Vasishtha, to his disciple Maitreya, and dispenses with the usual machinery of Suta and the

Rishis, it is said in the first chapter, indeed, in the form of a prophetic enunciation by Vasishtha, that Parásara is the author of the Sanhitá and the Puránas

In other chapters, however, it is again asserted that Dwaipáyana Vyása is the author of all the Puránas, and to reconcile these two statements recourse is had to a statement in the 3rd chapter of the 3rd section It is said, that there is a Vyása or Veda Vyása in every Dwápara Yuga of the Vaivaswata Manwantara, of this Manwantara we are now in the 28th Kali accordingly, 28 Dwápara Yugas have elapsed, and 28 Veda Vyásas have existed, the last is Krishna Dwaipáyana, or the person usually designated as Vyása Parásara was the 26th Vyása and this Purána is consequently the work of a preceding Maháyuga, or aggregate of four ages The Agni Purána states Parásara to be the author of the Vishnu Purána In the classification adopted by itself, (book 3rd chapter 6) it is placed the third, after the Bráhma and Padma

This Purána is divided into six Ansas, books or sections, each being sub divided into a varying number of Adhyayas or chapters it does not follow the order prescribed by the usual definition of a Purána, but deviates less widely than most of these compositions according to the Agni Purána it contains 23,000 slokas A commentary on this Purána exists, but of no great value, except as explanatory of some of the philosophical passages*

* [More fully described in the Preface to the Vishnu Purána p LXXIV]

The first book opens with the dialogue between Maitreya and Parásara, as already noticed. Parásara states himself to be the son of Śakti, the son of Vasishtha. Buchanan, from the Bhágavata, makes him the son of Upamanyu and grandson of Śakti; but the Mahábhárata* confirms the authority of the Puráṇa. "The son of Śakti (Parásara) next arrived there with his disciples." The passage of the Bhágavata on which Buchanan's statement rests, has not been found; the Bengali manuscripts generally read Saktri instead of Śakti.

Buchanan has also noticed the incompatibility of Parásara's genealogy with his being, as it is stated, cotemporary with Śántanu, king of Hastinapur; that prince being the 44th in descent from Atri, who is cotemporary with Vasishtha, who again is but three generations anterior to Parásara; he supposes, therefore, that many generations in the line of Vasishtha must have been omitted. It is not necessary, however, to attempt to reconcile these incongruities; for the coetaneous existence of Atri and Vasishtha is less chronological than mythological, or, perhaps, as they are both enumerated amongst the stars of the great bear, astronomical; it extends throughout the Manwantara, their immediate successors, who hold a sacred character, enjoy a like longevity, and are similarly cotemporary at any period with their ancestry and posterity. If we consider them as mere mortals, we must suppose that Parásara preceded the great war by three genera-

* [I. 6697 ff.]

tions, Krishna Dwaipáyana, his son, being the father of Dhritaráshtra, Pandu and Vidura by the widow of Vichitravírya Vyása was however cotemporary with his grandson and their descendants, agreeably to the above system of saintly immortality Mr Bentley places Parásara about 575 B C (Hindu astronomy), Buchanan about 1300 B C (Genealogies of the Hindus), and Wilford 1391 (A R IX 87)

The first chapters of the first book of the Vishnu Purana contain an account of the creation, ascribing it to the association of Vishnu with Pradhána and Purusha, matter and spirit, or the female and male, or passive and active energies During the intervals of creation, Vishnu exists independant of all connexion or attributes, and is beyond the comprehension of human faculties When disposed to create the universe, the elements, properties, and senses generated by the two sensible combinations of the deity are collected into an egg floating on the water, in which Vishnu again, as Brahmá, is concealed, and from which he issues to separate, and arrange the constituent portions of the world the system is therefore perfectly conformable to that anciently entertained as explained in the opening of Manu, substituting Vishnu for Brahma

The third chapter contains the usual divisions of time, from the twinkling of an eye to the period of a *Kalpa*, *the fourth an account of the Varaha Avatara*, whence the Varáha Kalpa, or actual great period, derives its appellation In the 5th chapter we have the series of creations effected by Vishnu, amounting to

nine, followed by a more detailed account of the order in which the several classes of beings sprang into existence, extending through the 6th and 7th chapters.

The seventh chapter brings us to the creation of the chief characters of the Swayambhuva Manwantara, the account of whose family is in part at least obviously an allegory. Swayambhuva, the son of the self existent, is married to Satarupa, (the hundred or many formed, the great mother,) their children are two sons, Priyavrata (the lover of devotion), and Uttanapada (where we are at fault), and two daughters, Prasuti (child-bearing) and Akuti*, a name not admitting an obvious allegorical etymology. It may be observed, that the Bhagavata adds a third daughter, Devahuti (invocation of the gods), married to Kardama (soil or sin), Akuti was married to Ruchi (light), a Prajapati, but not included in the usual enumeration of those sons of Brahma, unless he be the same with Marichi, their offspring were Yajna (sacrifice), and Dakshina (donation), who, though brother and sister, were married and begot the twelve divinities called Yamas, a class whose character and office are not known. Prasuti was married to the Prajapati Daksha (ability or power), they had twenty-four daughters, all emblematical, Sraddha, (faith,) Lakshmí, (prosperity,) Dhriti, (fortitude,) Tushti, (content,) Pushti, (sa-

* However another reading often occurs, usually considered, it is true, an error of the copyist, but possibly the right reading, Ahuti, invocation of the gods, prayer, or sacrifice.

tiety,) Medha, (apprehension,) Kriya, (action,) &c, thirteen were married to Dharma, (equity,) of the other eleven nine were married to the nine Rishis, Swáhá (oblation) was wedded to fire, and the collective Pitris or progenitors had Sráddha, the funeral sacrifice, for their spouse their posterity are all of the same significant character, as their appellations satisfactorily indicate The Puranas, in general, follow this account of the first race of created beings with some modifications and additions the Bhagavata, as we shall here after see, has supplied the most copious accessions and has introduced into the series a degree of perplexity and inconsistency that are quite foreign to the simplicity of the Vishnu Purana in which we may therefore conceive the primitive notion is most faithfully represented

The churning of the ocean for the recovery of Sri and Amrita or ambrosia, lost to the gods in consequence of the anger of Durvasas with Indra, is narrated in the ninth chapter but more concisely than usual The posterity of the Rishis by the daughters of Daksha follow, and we have then a long episode relating to Dhruva, the second son of Uttánapada, who for his devotion to Vishnu was elevated to the dignity of the polar star

The descendants of Dhruva are traced in the 13th chapter to the 6th Manu Chákshusha, and from him by Uru, Anga, and Vena to Prithu, from whom the earth was named Prithivi the fourth descent from Prithu consisted of the ten Prachetasas, and their

son was Daksha the Prajápati in a new birth this is the father of the 60 daughters, of whom 27 were the constellations, the lunar mansions, or wives of the moon, and thirteen the wives of Kasyapa, by whom the gods and demons, men and animals, were produced The remaining chapters of this section contain the accounts in detail of the origin of these races, from the daughters of Daksha married to Kasyapa The original refers these in the 21st chapter to the Swarochisha Manwantara, but this is irreconcilable with the descent of Daksha, as before mentioned, from Chakshusha Manu, and as again stated in the third book This section of the Purána terminates with the division of the universe under its respective regents, and praises of Vishnu as the Supreme Being

The second book contains the usual account of the division of the earth into Dwípas, and the formation of the seven Pátalas, and Naraka, with the situation and course of the planets and the description of their several cars that of the sun is very fully and curiously detailed the last chapters give a legendary account of Bharata, the object of which is to inculcate the supremacy of Vishnu, and the unreality of wordly existence, agreeably to the doctrines of the Vedánta philosophy

The third book of the Vishnu Purána should have formed, agreeably to the systematic classification of the contents of a Purána, its fourth, treating of the reigns of the different Manus and their descendants the detail however is little more than a bare enumera-

on of names, the appellation of the Manu, the Indra, king of the gods, the Ganas or classes of Devas, e seven Rishis, and the sons of the Manu, and who re all distinct in each Manwantara Those of the first, xth, and seventh periods are of the most note In he intermediate ones little of interest occurs, and less n those that are to come We may therefore here insert the names of the persons of these three Manwanaras

MANU	Swayambhuva	Chakshusha	Vaivaswat
INDRA		Manojava	Purandhara
DEVATAS		Adyas	Adityas
		Prastutas	Vasus
		Bhavyas	Rudras &c
		Prithugas	
		Mahanubhavas, &c	
RISHIS	Marichi	Sumedhas	Vasishtha
	Angiras	Virajas	Kasyapa
	Atri	Havishmat	Atri
	Pulastya	Uttama	Jamadagni
	Pulaha	Madhu	Gautama
	Kratu	Abhinaman	Viswamitra
	Vasishtha	Sahishnu	Bharadhwaja
SONS	Priyavrata	Uru	Ikshwaku
	Uttanapada	Puru	Nabhaga
		Śatadru	Dhrishta
		Tapaswi	Saryati
		Satyavati	Narishyanta
		Suchi	Bhagadheya
		Agnishthoma	Karusha
		Sadyumna	Prishadhra
		Abhimanyu	Vasumat
		Atiratra	

In this manner the persons of the remaining seven Manwantaras are prophetically detailed

In the next chapter of the third section occurs the enumeration of the 28 Veda Vyásas already alluded to In the Dwapara age of every Mahayuga, or aggregate of four Yugas, a Muni or sage appears, who makes a new arrangement of these works, and is therefore called *Vyasa* or *Veda Vyasa* The Vyasa of the present period is Krishna Dwaipayana, the son of Parasara and the twenty eighth of the series, and who according to this authority, and the sectarial notions it advocates, is a minor descent or incarnation of Vishnu himself

The origin of the Vedas and Puránas is treated of in the next chapter of this section with many curious details The Veda, it is said, was originally a ritual, containing ample instructions for the five great sacrifices *or oblations to fire, at the full and change of the* moon, and in every fourth month the offering of animals, and libation with the juice of the acid Asclepias, these five being doubled as Prakriti and Vikriti, or simple and modified, became ten, and these were the objects of the Vedas

The mode in which Vyasa is described as arranging the Veda implies its prior existence in separate portions, as he called to his assistance four persons severally acquainted with them, or Paila for the Rik, Vaisampayana for the Yajur, Jaimini for the Sama, and Sumanta for the Atharvan The description is not very clear, but it should seem that he made a

kind of digest of the whole collectively, which he again separated according to the purport of the different passages, the Rik, containing the Richas, or prayers used with oblations by the Hotri, or officiating priest, the Yajur, comprising the formulæ of the rite repeated by the Adhwaryu, the Sáma, composed of the hymns chanted by the Udgatá, and the Atharvan comprehending prayers and rites suitable for princes or the military order, repeated or conducted by the Brahmans on their behalf

The Vishnu Purana then describes the different Sanhitas, or collections of the prayers and formulæ of each Veda, and their respective authors The Rig was divided into two Sanhitás by Paila, who taught one to Indrapramati and the other to Vashkala each of these and their disciples made further subdivisions The Yajur was divided into 27 Sakhas by Vaisampayana, besides the other great portion of it obtained from the sun, by Vajnavalkya, which subsequently branched into fifteen divisions The Sama and Atharvan are in a like manner extensively subdivided The whole of these details are curious, and indicate a period long forgotten, when the Vedas were extensively studied the names derived from the subdivisions, as Taittiri, Vají, &c still designate tribes of Brahmans in some parts of India, but few of any of the separate Sanhitas are procurable Mr Colebrooke has made use of these sections of the Vishnu Purana in his account of the Vedas (A R Vol VIII)

The origin of the Puránas is here also ascribed in-

directly to various individuals. Vyasa is said to have compiled the Purana Sanhita, but he gave it to Suta or Lomaharshana, who had six disciples, Sumati, Agnivarchcha, Maitreya, Sansapayana, Kasyapa, and Savarni, and to them Suta delivered six Sanhitas. Three of the disciples, Sansapayana, Kasyapa, and Savarni, composed Sanhitas, also called Mula Sanhita, and Romaharshana compiled another. The Vishnu Purana, again, it may be inferred, is a subsequent compilation, as it is said to contain the substance of these four works. A list of the Puranas is then given as usual, omitting the Vayu from the series.

The remainder of the section is occupied with the detail of the duties of the different tribes and orders, and terminates with an absurd legend called the Yama Gita, *the scope of which is to shew that the spirits of* those who have faith in Vishnu are not to be approached by the messengers of the infernal monarch, it must be admitted, however, that compared with the other Puranas the Vishnu Purana does not very frequently *offend with legendary insipidities of this description*.

The *fourth section* contains the genealogies of the royal families, commencing with the lines of the sun and moon, and terminating with the kings of the Kali age, until a modern period. This section has furnished the greater part of the materials with which Sir William Jones, Mr Bentley, and Colonel Wilford, attempted to adjust *the historical chronology* of the Hindus, the *latter* (A R Vol IX) *gives the* Vishnu Purana as one

of his authorities, the first cites a list furnished by his Pandit, but it is the same thing with one or two inaccuracies; as an example of these may be stated what he asserts of the four Kanwa princes, that they reigned 345 years, whence Sir William Jones observes, that the generations of men and reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature even in the present age (A R II, 143)

Adverting to the same circumstance, Mr Bentley refers (vol V, page 324,) the extravagant elongation of the reigns of these princes to a deliberate attempt to fill up a chasm occasioned by placing the descendants of Janamejaya at too early a period, and cites this as one of the innumerable absurdities of the modern Hindus

Colonel Wilford again observes these Kanwas are said to have reigned 345 years, which is still more extravagant (Vol IX page 110)

It would scarcely be supposed, that these assertions are all *founded on error* In the early stage of Sir William Jones's enquiries, his trusting to his Pandit's authority may be excused, but it seems very doubtful whether Mr Bentley or Colonel Wilford took the pains to verify that statement At any rate, in four manuscripts of the Vishnu Purana, two in the Devanagari and two in the Bengali character, instead of 345 years, the term of the united reigns of the four Kánwa princes is stated to be 45 years, a period neither extravagant nor absurd, nor beyond the course of nature

The ancient dynasties of kings anterior to the Kali age, within the bounds of which they should no doubt be brought, can scarcely be adjusted with much consistency or satisfaction; at the same time this is a consideration rather favourable to their authenticity, as had they been the result of a systematic fabrication, they would easily have been adapted to some fixed periods, and to each other. That many inaccuracies and some falsifications have crept into these genealogies may be readily admitted, but there is no good reason to dispute the actual existence of the principal individuals commemorated, nor the general course of their ancestry or descendants. That their memory was preserved by some means anterior to the Puranas is established by the Vishnu Purana. Reference is made in it repeatedly to former traditions, and old verses are cited as illustrative of the history or character of a number of the princes of whom mention is made. (Sections 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, &c.)

The 11th and following chapters of this book, to the 15th, contain a detailed account of the descendants of Yadu. A curious story is interwoven into the portion that relates to Krishna, of his being falsely accused of having stolen a marvellous gem, the possession of which secured wealth and prosperity to its possessor, if virtuous. It was given to Satrajit, the cotemporary, very inconsistently it must be confessed, of Krishna, and his sixth ancestor, and a member of the Yadava family. Apprehending Krishna's requiring the gem, Satrajit gave it to his brother, who was killed

in the forest by a lion. Krishna hunting killed the lion and found the jewel, he returned it to Satrajit, who gave him in requital his daughter in marriage: this led to further family dissensions, in which Krishna was accused by his own brother of having underhandedly appropriated the gem to himself: he at last, however, cleared himself in an assembly of the Yadavas, and the jewel became the undisputed property of his relative Akrura. In these transactions the character of Krishna, although heightened with marvels, is of a very earthly complexion, and as to Balarama, it is said of him by Krishna that he is unfit to be master of the jewel, because he drinks wine and is addicted to sensual pleasures. With respect to the gem, its properties of procuring plenty to the country of its possessor, and of bringing down rain when needed, ally it to the marvellous stone, for the acquisition of which the Tartar tribes not unfrequently had recourse to hostilities.

In detailing the lists of Magadha kings the Vishnu Purana states, that from the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda 1015 years elapsed. Nanda preceded Chandragupta 100 years, and Chandragupta, as identified with Sandrakoptus, ascended the throne 315 B. C. Parikshit was the grandson of Arjuna, consequently the war of the Mahabharata occurred 1430 years before the Christian era. Wilford reduces this by 60 years, and places the conclusion of the great war 1370 B. C.: the difference is not very material and either date may present an approximation to the truth.

From Chandragupta to the accession of the Andhra princes three dynasties occupy an interval of 294 years the Andhras therefore commenced their rule about 20 years before Christ, which will agree well enough with the account of the power of the Andræ, as given by Pliny, about the end of the first century of our era According to the Purana, there were 30 princes, who reigned 456 years, which brings them to A D 436 Colonel Wilford has endeavoured to extend them, however, to the seventh century, identifying the last or Pulomarchi with the Pouloumien of the Chinese Annals, who died in 648, according to De Guignes (As Res IX, 87) If this is correct, the Andhra dynasty must be imperfectly given The commencement being corroborated by Pliny is apparently accurate, but we want two centuries at the termination Wilford proposes to supply part of the deficiency, which is less in his statement, by inserting seven princes, whom he calls genuine Andhras, before the Andhrabhrityas, but there is *no warrant for this*, and the number is inadequate to the interval required There is however evident confusion here in our authority, the text and comment state expressly that the dynasty is composed of 30 princes, and yet even with the repetition of the name Satakarni five times, although it is probably intended in most cases as a title, we have but 27 names Wilford's list, indeed, contains but 25 names It is likely, therefore, that some of the names have been lost, and if we can suppose the dynasty to have comprised nearer 40 than 30 princes, we may extend the

The succession of races which follows the Andhras is evidently confused and imperfect, seven distinct dynasties are detailed, extending through 1390 years, and two others through a period of 406 years 47 princes of different tribes succeed them, to whom less than four centuries cannot be ascribed, the whole throwing the last of the Andhras back 2190 years, and *computing that 4055 years of the Kali age had* elapsed the last periods, grafted probably, as Colonel Wilford has supposed, on the coetaneous existence of different dynasties at undefined intervals, are in all likelihood calculated to fill up the years expired of the Kali age, and so furnish a clue to the date of this Purana if 4055 years of Kali had passed when the work was compiled, it was written 870 years ago, or in the year 954

The *notices that follow would present an interesting* picture of the political distribution of India at the date at which it may be supposed the author wrote, if the passages were less obscure, at it is, considerable uncertainty pervades the description It appears from it that the Kshatriya rule was very generally abolished, and that individuals of various castes, from Brahmans to Pulindas (mountaineers or foresters) reigned in Magadha or Behar, at Allahabad, at Mathura, Kantipuri, Kasípurí or Kanyapuri, probably Benares or Kanouj, and in Anugangam or Gangetic Hindoostan The Guptas, a term indicating a Sudra family, reigned over part of Magadha, and Deva rakshita, an individual so named, over the maritime

Jarasandha particularly, and the adventures of Kala Yavana. It also includes what may be supposed to typify some hostile struggles between the followers of Siva and Vishnu in the personal conflict between Krishna, and the former, as taking part respectively with Aniruddha and Banasura.

From the 34th chapter of this section, we learn that there have been spurious Krishnas amongst the Hindus, and Paundraka, the king of Benares, is described as usurping the title of Vásudeva. He is encountered by the legitimate possessor of the name, defeated and slain. His son continues the war with the aid of Sankara or the Saivas, and it should appear at first with some success, so as to endanger Dwaraka, the capital of Krishna. The allies however are repelled, and the holy city Kasi burnt by the relentless discus of the victor, *the legend seems to delineate, though darkly,* actual occurrences.

This book terminates with the destruction of the Yadavas, Krishna's being shot through mistake by a forester, and his ascent to heaven.

The last book of the Vishnu Purana, after describing the divisions of time into Kalpas, &c. expatiates on the various pangs that flesh is heir to, and directs mankind to the only remedy for them, faith in Vishnu as the Supreme.

The general character of the Vishnu Purana will be readily conceived from this sketch of its contents. It is a sectarial work, but of a much more sober character than such works generally possess, and appro-

priates to legend and panegyric a comparatively insignificant portion of its contents the geographical and astronomical systems to be found in it, are of the usually absurd complexion, but they are more succinctly and perspicuously described than perhaps in any other Puranas the same may be said of the genealogies, and the fourth book may be regarded as a valuable epitome of the ancient history of the Hindus

The date of the compilation, it has already been observed, may be inferred to be as low as the middle of the tenth century there are no other grounds for specifying the date, but the Purána is clearly subsequent to the development of the whole body of Hindu literature the Vedas and their divisions are particularised, the names of all the Puranas are given as usual and reference is repeatedly made to the Itihása and Dharma Sástras In the fourth section of the third book also Parásara says Who but Náráyana can be the author of the Mahábhárata? It is consequently posterior to that work, in common it is most probable with all the Puranas Notwithstanding this recent origin, however, the Vishnu Purana is a valuable compilation, particularly in its being obviously and avowedly derived from more ancient materials

From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol I, p 535–43

VI VÁYU PURÁNA

The *Váyu Purána* is so named from having been originally, it is said, communicated by Váyu, or the deity of the wind, to the assembled sages It afterwards descended to Krishna Dwaipáyana Vyása, by whom it was taught to his disciple Lomaharshana, and at his desire it is repeated by his son Ugrasravas to the holy ascetics at Naimisháranya, agreeably to the form in which these works usually commence

At starting, however, a peculiarity occurs the right of Suta to the possession of the Vedas is denied, and he admits that he is entitled to teach only the Itihasas and Puranas This distinction is attributed to his equivocal origin which is very obscurely assigned to an error at a sacrifice held by Prithu, in which the Ghí appropriated to Vrihaspati, the teacher, was confounded with that set apart for Indra, the disciple, and from the oblation, termed Sutyá, Suta was produced He consequently held an intermediate station between the Brahman and Kshatriya, whom these gods, it may be inferred, severally represent, and whilst in one capacity he is a scholar of Vyasa and a teacher of the secondary scriptures, he is excluded in the other from instructing in the Vedas, and restricted to such means of acquiring a livelihood as are compatible with the military profession

The origin of the Suta, whether legendary or rational, the duties which are assigned to him, and the right conceded to him of teaching the Puranas, seem to throw some light on the early history of these works In all probability, they were at first the traditionary tales of a race of family poets, who corresponded precisely in character with the scalds and bards of the north, and were at once the eulogists of the chief and chroniclers of the family In this manner some historical traditions were preserved before they were formed into any systematic account, but of course imperfectly and rudely With the genealogies the poets blended, no doubt, fanciful and mythological fictions, and these were the materials which later writers wove into a connected form, and from which they constructed the primitive Puranas The character of the compilers, that of religious men, gave however a new complexion to the competition, and the mythological and marvellous portions came to usurp an undue importance, to the neglect of the historical records The genealogies were, however, probably preserved with some more care, as they were connected with the worship of certain deities or deified princes, particularly Rama and Krishna To the mythology also systems of cosmogony, geography, and astronomy were added, and the five divisions of the Puránas were then complete They were not long however suffered to continue in this condition Contending sects arose, and each, desirous of enlisting the Puránas on his side, foisted into them absurd and tasteless fictions, or meta-

as mind, generally and individually, or elementary intellect free from passion or emotion in the first case, and joined with it in the second. The Mahatattwa again might occasionally be rendered the Divine Spirit connected with substance, but exempt from passion, and which upon addition of the Gunas, or qualities, becomes Ahankára: the difficulty of explaining these terms satisfactorily is however inseparable from the visionary character of the existence of the things which they denominate. The other five elements, if not more intelligible, are at least more familiar to us, and though as little susceptible of definition are, with one exception, cognisable by our senses, and therefore *suggest positive notions. Akása is ether, a subtile* element thinner than air. The other four are air, fire, water, and earth. These partially combined into an egg which lay in water, the water was invested by fire, the fire by air, the air by Akása, the Akása by Ahankára, the Ahankára by the Mahatattwa, and the whole by the Avyakta or imperceptible, identified with Prakriti or Nature; from the egg, Hiranyagarbha, the fourheaded Brahmá was produced, the immediate agent of creation, the materials of which, as far as this universe consisting of fourteen Lokas or worlds is concerned, lay concealed within the same recess from which he issued.

Brahmá, the Creator, is in fact only an embodied portion of the Rajo Guna, the quality of passion or desire by which the world was called into being. Rudra is the embodied Tamo Guna, the attribute of dark-

ness or wrath, and the destructive fire by which the universe is annihilated, and Vishnu is the embodied Sattwa Guna, or property of mercy and goodness, by which *the world is preserved, the three exist in one, and one in three,* as the Veda is divided into three and is yet but one, and they are all Asrita, or comprehended within that one being who is Parama or supreme, Guhya or secret, and Sarvatmá the soul of all things.

So far the theology of the Vayu Purana agrees with the deism of the Vedanta, but it presently deviates from this doctrine in the manner common to all the Puranas, and to a purport which may be supposed to have mainly influenced the present form of these compositions. Agreeably to the Vedanta school, the Supreme Being, though of one nature with his emanations, possesses a sort of separate existence, and is always Nirguna or void of attributes. According to the Pauránik doctrines however, he is not merely Nirguna, but is *occasionally Saguna or Sakalyana guna, possessed of attributes, or at least of all excellent attributes.* In this latter case he becomes perceptible, and appears in the form either of Vishnu or Siva, according to the sect to which the work that so describes him appertains. His appearances are regarded as his Lílá or pastime, and in this sense, the Váyu Purana observes, the Paramatma, or Yogeswara, has engaged in various sports and consequently assumed a variety of incarnations, and is known by different names.

The successive stages of the creation of the world are enumerated as in the Kurma Purána, and amount to nine. They are somewhat differently named in one or two instances, but the meaning is probably alike. The nine Sargas are the Mahat, Bhuta, Aindreyaka, Maukhya, Tairyaksrotas, Urddhasrotas, Arvaksrotas, Anugraha and Kaumara*, or matter, the elements, the senses, the earth, animals, gods, men, goblins, and Brahma's sons; a list agreeing with that of the Kurma Purána, except in the third, which is there called the Tejassarga, or creation of light or lustre. The two works also agree in calling the three first creations Prakrita, or elementary, and the six last Vaikrita or secondary, the elements being only made to assume *Vikriti or change of form*.

The subject of creation is continued through the 7th and 8th chapters, and the next sections are occupied with directions to practise abstract devotion, and obtain a knowledge of the Supreme Being, interspersed with an account of the origin and duties of various sages, and the attributes and power of some of the forms of Siva. In the eighteenth chapter commences an enumeration of the Kalpas which is continued through the 19th and 20th. Thirty three Kalpas are mentioned, the last of which is called the Viswarupa or Sweta from the prevailing form of Siva being of a white complexion. From this circumstance it appears to be the same with the Vaishnava Varaha

* [Vishnu Pur. I. 5. Bhagav. Pur. III. 10. Markand. Pur. 47.]

kalpa, in which Siva is incarnate on the mountain Chhagala as the Muni Sweta, having for his disciples Swaita, Swetasikha, Swetasya and Swetalohita*, the same who are mentioned in the Kurma Purana, the list of the Kalpas is followed by that of the Mahayugas in the present Manwantara, in each Dwapara of which, as well as a Vedavyasa, there is an incarnation of Siva, who has four sons or disciples, all Mahayogis and portions of the divinity Those of the present period are Lakulí, and his sons Kusika, Gargya, Mitraka, and Rushta, the scene of their Yoga is called the Kayarohana Kshetra on mount Meru**

The subject of creation is not yet dismissed, and blended with illustrations of Siva's supremacy continues through several other chapters In the 23rd chapter Brahma and Vishnu are introduced as propitiating Mahádeva and receiving boons from his favour To Brahmá he grants progeny, to Vishnu praise, admitting him to be along with himself the source of all things, though in an inferior degree, thus he says to Vishnu "I am Agni or fire, thou art Soma the moon, thou art the night, I the day, thou art falsehood, I am truth thou art sacrifice, I am the fruit of it, thou art knowledge, I am that that is to be known," &c

The origin of Rudra from Brahma by virtue of the boon given to him, and the various appellations assigned by Brahma to that form of Siva are next de-

* [Weber Ind Stud I, 421]
** [Aufrecht, l l, p 53 b]

tailed, and this is followed by an account of the families of the seven Rishis, Bhrigu, Marichi, Angiras, Kardama or Pulaha, Pulastya, Kratu, and Vasishtha. Atri is not mentioned here, but his wife Anasuya is named as the mother of Sruti, the wife of the son of Kardama or Pulaha, named also Kardama, from which alliance the patronymic Atreya is applied in the text to the descendants of that sage The place left by Atri's exclusion is occupied by Bhrigu, who it appears is considered as a form of Mahadeva The descendants of Bhrigu are called Bhargavas, and a branch of them sprung from the grandson of Bhrigu named Mrikanda are termed Markandeyas, the descendants of Marichi are the Kasyapas from Kasyapa his grand-son, the posterity of Angiras are the Angirasas, of Pulastya the Paulastyas, of Vasishtha the Vasishthas, and of Kratu the pigmy sages called Balakhilyas These denominations and genealogical classifications, as well as several other details to be found in the same chapter, differ materially from the notions more generally received We are not yet prepared to say how far they are peculiar to this Purana

Some curious, and as far as yet known, peculiar mythology follows, describing the different kinds of Agni or fire, and particularising the Pitris as the same with the Ritus or seasons of the year A mythological description of the divisions of time then ensues, it is clearly an attempt to allegorise the year and its divisions, in common with the worship of collective ancestors by fire, hence the year is called Agni, the

seasons the Pitris, and the five portions of animate and inanimate creation of men birds beasts, reptiles, and trees, &c are *the five Artavas, the sons of the* seasons or progeny of time the allegory however is rather perplexed, and the whole description mystified and obscure The *names given to the months and* seasons here are double One set being the usual terms, and the other being peculiar the names of the months are the same as those cited by Sir William Jones from the Vedas, as the names of the solar months (A R III 258) The seasons as *the Pitris* are called Kasa, Agni, Jiva, Sudhanwan, Manyamana and Ghora

The Pitris are distinguished into two classes, the Varhishadas and Agnishwattas these are said to have had two daughters, Mena and Dharini, the former became the wife of Himavat, the latter wedded Meru and from her was descended Daksha the mention of whom gave occasion *for the narration of his* celebrated sacrifice, and for a number of stanzas in praise of Siva's supremacy

The 30th chapter contains a very summary account of some royal dynasties, and then particularizes the *duration of the four ages* as 12,000 years This calculation implies that the years are years of the gods, such being the period of a Mahayuga, *agreeably to Pauranik chronology, at the same time the text does* not specify what years are intended* As analogous

* The proportion in which the years are divided are,

to the divisions of time, the Purána itself is here stated to consist of 12,000 stanzas, a number different from that stated in the Matsya which assigns twice that amount or 24,000 Slokas to the Váyu Purána

A number of chapters then follow, appropriated to Pauránik geography, the description of mount Meru and the residence of the gods, the seven continents and the divisions of the universe above and below the earth, considerable portions of these chapters have been translated by the late Colonel Wilford The Pauránik *system is here very fully and, upon the whole,* distinctly detailed The chief difficulties that occur being perhaps rather the fault of the transcript than of the original work

The same remark applies to the chapters that follow, in which the astronomy of the Puránas is detailed with the same minuteness as the geography on these two topics, therefore, the Váyu Purána is a valuable authority

Some of this astronomy is rather unusual, the relative sizes and situations of the planets, their cars, their steeds, and other appurtenances, and their revolving round Dhruva or the pole, to which they are attached

Krita	4800
Treta	3600
Dwapara	2400
Kali	1200
	12 000

the same is given in the Paulisa Siddhánta, as cited by Bhattotpala (A R XII 249)

by cords of air, as the potter's wheel turns on its pivot, are in all the ordinary strain, but we have a statement regarding the length of a Yuga, and the commencement of the solar year, which are not conformable to received notions, or the actual state of things

It is said, for instance, that a Yuga consists of five years, *what kind of Yuga is intended is not specified* Bentley (A R VIII 227) *cites the Graha Manjari for* a Maha Yuga of five years, and in his last work on the ancient astronomy of the Hindus he refers the construction of a cycle of five years to what he considers the first period of Hindu *astronomy, or from* B C 1181 to 961

This cycle it is said begins when the sun is in Sravana, and it is again stated that Sravana is the first of the Nakshatras, *and Mágha the first of the months,* according to the authority just cited, such could have been the case only beetween the years 204 B C and A D 44 when the year began *with the month Mágha* If Mr Bentley is correct, this portion of the Purána at least is of considerable antiquity, whatever may be the date of the rest (Ancient Hindu Astronomy, p 271) Mr Bentley *also adds that the mode of computation* by which the commencement of the year was made to begin with a different month and asterism was entirely laid aside by the *Hindu astronomers subsequent* to A D 538

The same chapter contains a description of the Sisumara, which is interpreted by Mr Davis *to typify* the celestial sphere (A R II 402) The description is

to a similar effect with that which he has translated from the Bhágavata*, but is shorter and less particular. There is also this rather unintelligible addition, that the stars of the sphere never set, but the passage may signify, that they are not annihilated at the usual periods of destruction. The text is in this place evidently incorrect, and the translation being made from a single copy, it is not safe to venture any emendation.

A legendary account of Nílakantha or the blue-necked Siva follows, and the description of the classes of the Pitris, and their feeding upon the lunar nectar ensues. The introduction of obsequial ceremonies and the worship of the manes appears to have originated with Purúravas, a not unlikely circumstance, and one which explains the legend of his being descended both from the sun and moon, the worship of the manes being connected with the conjunction of the luminaries. The list of Pitris differs in some respect from that of Manu, and from that given in a manual used by the Brahmans of Bengal, in which a verse cited *from the Váyu Purána enumerates the following* as the seven classes, Saumyas, Agnishwáttas, Varhishadas, Havishmantas, Ushmapas, and Ájyapas. In the chapter now under consideration there are but four particularised, the Saumyas or Somapas, the Kavyas or Ájyapas, the Varhishadas, and Agnishwáttas. Three others are merely named, the Ushmapas, Devakírttyas, and apparently the Lekhas and Báhwikasyas**,

* [V, 23. Vishnu Pur. II. 12.] ** [Vishnu Pur. p. 31.]

but these are unusual and probably inaccurate appellations The whole of the section is obscure, incorrect, and often unintelligible The same may be said of the two remaining chapters, which treat of the divisions of time and the influence of the four ages

Without being in possession of the contents of the *remaining portion, at least one-half of the Vayu Purana*, it is impossible to offer any opinion on the date as derivable from internal testimony As far as the portion analysed extends, it may be considered perhaps as the oldest of the actually existing Puranas, and it has every appearance of being a genuine work, conforming more closely than any yet examined to the definition of a Purana, and admitting few of the unconnected digressions and legendary absurdities by which the course of these compilations is so commonly interrupted, and the established order widely disarranged or wholly obliterated

The Váyu Purána is not unfrequently omitted in lists of the eighteen Puránas, but in that case it is considered to be the same with the Śaiva Purana, which takes its place As now met with, however, the two works are not identical

II

HINDU FICTION

From the Oriental Quarterly Magazine Calc March 1824 p 63—77

— —

It was intimated on a former occasion[1] that Hindu Literature included collections of domestic narrative, of an extent surpassing that of any other people, anterior to the two last centuries, and of an antiquity at the least exceeding similar compilations in any Oriental tongue, and that it was consequently probable that much of the invention displayed on the revival of letters in Europe was referable to an Indian origin In confirmation of these opinions, the learned labours of the Baron de Sacy were then cited, and his history of the migrations of Pilpay's Fables presented to our readers Those fables, in their former, and in their modern and more authentic shape, are well known, and need not be here adverted to, and it will be easy to adduce other proofs of the accuracy of our sentiments

The study of the Hindi and Bengali languages has rendered a number of persons familiar with the Sin-

---

[1] Number for April 1823

hasan Battísí and Beital Pachísí, or the narratives related to Bhoja by the statues which supported his throne, and the tales told to Vikramaditya by the spirit he endeavoured to make captive for the magician. Both these are originally Sanskrit, and exist in detached forms, as well as embodied with other compilations. There is also another collection of tales in which Vikrama plays a prominent part, the Vikrama Charitra, and another compilation, the Víra Charitra, has Sáliváhana for its hero. The Tútí Náma, or Tales of a Parrot, has a Sanskrit prototype in the Suka Saptati. The Kadambarí of Bána Bhatta, and the Dasa Kumára of Dandi, are collections of entertaining narratives growing out of one entire plan. A more miscellaneous compilation is the Katharnava, or Sea of Narratives, a work in four books, of which the two first are the Beital Pachísí and Sinhásan Battísí, and the two last contain miscellaneous stories probably from some original no longer known. The largest and most interesting collection, however, yet met with is the Katha Sarit Ságara, the Ocean of the Streams of Narrative, or, as more generally, though less correctly denominated, the Great Narrative, or Vrihat Kathá. This collection is not only more important than either of the preceding, from its copiousness and variety, but because its history is well authenticated, whilst considerable *uncertainty obscures their date and origin.*

Somadeva, the compiler of the Vrihat Kathá, states, at the conclusion of his work, that it was composed for the recreation of the grandmother of Harsha Deva,

a pious old lady, a great patroness of the Brahmans, and a zealous worshipper of Siva and his spouse. Harsha Deva, king of Kashmir, was the son of Kalasa, the son of Ananta, the son of Sangrama Rája, all in succession sovereigns of the same country. The genealogy thus given we can verify. The eighth table of the dynasties of Kashmir kings in Gladwin's Ayíni Akbarí, runs thus: Sangrama, who reigned two months, Hurray, twenty two days, Ananta, five years and five months, Kulussder, twenty six years, Ungruss, twenty two days and Hurruss.* These names are corrupted by their twofold transfiguration, first in Persian, and then in Roman characters, but they still retain their primitive form sufficiently to be at once identifiable with the Sanskrit denominatives. Abúlfazl gives us two more princes, it is true, than Somadeva, but their joint reigns amount to but forty-four days, and they are chronologically nonentities. There was, probably, also very good reason for Somadeva's omitting them, as, if they were either infants or individuals of mature years, the shortness of the reigns indicates violence or usurpation. Taking the total period, as stated in the Ayíni Akbarí, all these princes reigned less than thirty two years. We know from good authority, that Sangrama ascended the throne of Kashmir about 1027, and Hurruss, or Harsha, therefore, came to the crown in 1059. He reigned, according to Abúlfazl, but twelve

* [i. e. Sangrama, Hari, Ananta, Kalasa, Utkarsha, Harsha. See Lassen Ind. Alt. III. 1046-95, 1178.]

years, and consequently Somadeva wrote between 1059 and 1071*, if not, indeed, a few years earlier. The latter seems most probable, by the dedication to the grandmother of this prince, who, as the patron of religion, the endower of temples, and embellisher of the kingdom, must have possessed considerable authority, and was possibly regent during Harsha's minority. At any rate, however, these dates are quite sufficient to establish the priority of the compilation, and as it is also to be observed, that Somadeva takes care to call his work by that name, or a Sangraha, the materials are still older than the frame in which he has set them.

Besides the positive assertion, that he has only collected various stories, and arranged them in his own manner, Somadeva assigns a fictitious original to the whole, and represents the Vrihat Katha as proceeding from Siva himself. To the original, or such part of it as was handed down, he professes to adhere in terms which would seem to imply that there was actually a prior Sanskrit compilation known as the Vrihat Katha, but it may be doubted whether they are intended to assert any such fact, the fiction being part of his plan, and well enough in keeping with the character of his work. Some writers, however, amongst the Hindus, have maintained the reality of the original, and attributed it to Gunadhya, as to an actually existing au-

* [or according to Lassen I I p 1063 between 1090 and 1103 Troyer Rajatarang ii III p 602]

thor* Gunadhya, as we shall see, is one of Somadeva's personages, and, like many of his characters, may have been derived from a substantial prototype of the author of a collection of tales however, they must have been written in some dialect, agreeably to our guide, or what he calls the Paisachí Bháshá, a conclusion still hostile to the prior existence of the Vrihat Katha spoken of, as that is a Sanskrit composition The fabulous origin of the stories, whatever portion of truth it may comprehend, suggests the introductory chapters of the compilation, and we shall therefore give the substance of them We shall then proceed to the other chapters of the collection, compressing of course, the narrative as much as possible, and omitting such anecdotes and tales as are least amusing or characteristic

Introduction

On the summit of Kailása, a lofty peak of the Himalaya range, resided the mighty deity Maheswara, attended by innumerable spirits and genii, and worshipped even by the superior divinities The daughter of the mountain monarch, and the spouse of Mahadeva, propitiated her lord by her celestial strains, and, being pleased by her adulations, he proffered her whatever boon she might request Her only demand

---

* [See Prof F. E. Hall's introduction to his edition of the Vasavadatta Calc 1859 p 22 f]

was to receive instruction from his lips, and to hear from him such narrations as were yet unknown to the immortals or herself.

In compliance with the desire of Bhavání, Siva repeated to her the history of the worship offered him by Brahmá and Vishnu in former ages, and the favour found by the latter, on account of his wish to be accepted as a servant of Maheswara. He also related to her the events of Daksha's sacrifice, the death of Sati and her being born again as the daughter of the king of the snowy mountains, and once more his bride. Deví, offended, here interrupted his narration and told him these things she was not desirous to hear; on which Siva, giving orders that no person should be admitted, proceeded to reveal to the goddess those narratives which illustrate the felicity of the gods, the troubles of mankind, and the intermediate and varying conditions of the spirits of earth and heaven.

It happened that Pushpadanta, one of the god's principal attendants, came to the palace gate and was refused admission by the warder. As he was a great favourite with his master, and had always ready access to his person, the refusal excited his astonishment and curiosity, and, rendering himself invisible, he passed in, determined to ascertain why entrance was so rigorously barred. In this manner having come to where Siva and Bhavání were seated, he overheard all the marvellous stories repeated by the deity. When these were concluded, he retired as he had entered, unobserved, and going home communicated the nar-

natives to his wife Jaya, it being impossible to keep wealth or secrets from a woman Jaya, equally unable to preserve silence, communicated what she had heard to her fellow *attendants on Pārvatī* and the affair soon became known to the goddess and her lord As the punishment of impertinence, Pushpadanta was condemned to a human birth, and his friend Mālyavān, who presumed to intercede for him, was sentenced to a like fate Being, however, subdued by the distress of Jaya, the offended goddess fixed a term to their degradation, and thus spake When Pushpadanta, encountering a Yaksha, who has been doomed by Kuvera to haunt the Vindhya mountains as a goblin, shall recollect his original condition, and shall repeat the tales he has rashly overheard, the curse shall no more prevail So saying, she ceased, and the two culprits instantly, like a flash of lightning, blazed and disappeared

After a due interval, Mālyavān was born at Pratishtha[1], under the name Gunādhya, and Pushpadanta at Kausambī[2], as Vararuchi The latter, when ar-

---

[1] [or Pratishthāna] the capital of Śālivāhana, supposed to be the same with Pattan, or Pyetan on the Godávari [Lassen Ind Alt II 884 ff]

[2] Kausambi succeeded Hastinapur as the capital of the emperors of India. Its precise site has not been ascertained but it was probably somewhere in the Doab, or at any rate not far from the west bank of the Jamna as it bordered upon Magadha and was not far from the Vindh hills Hamilton thinks it probable, that the ruins which have been called those of Hastinapur are

rived at years of discretion, found the goblin follower of Kuvera at Vindhya Vasini[1], and recollecting his origin, repeated to him the seven great narratives of Siva, each comprehending a hundred thousand verses he also gave him the history of his mortal adventures

Story of Vararuchi

I was born at Kausambi, the son of a Brahman, named Somadatta, who died whilst I was a child, and left my mother, Vasudatti, in indigence with the charge of my education Whilst struggling with distress, it chanced that two Brahmans, named Indradatta and Vyadi, stopped at our dwelling, and solicited hospitality for the night, as they were strangers, and

---

those of Kausambi, as the former city was carried away by the Ganges *before the latter was built* *The concluding assertion* however, wants authority, as the Vishnu Purana and the Vrihat Katha merely notice the removal of the capital without stating any cause It is said, that there are ruins at Karari or Karah about 14 miles from Allahabad on the west road which may indicate *the site of Kausambi, and in Cooseah, another* stage on the road, we may trace an affinity to the name It is not impossible, also, that *the mounds of rubbish about Kurrah may* conceal some vestiges of the ancient capital—a circumstance rendered the *more* probable by the inscription found there, which specificies Kata, as comprised within Kausamba mandala, or district of Kausambi —As Res IX, 433 [Lassen, Ind Alt III, 201 Vivien de Saint Martin *in* 'Memoires *sur les contrees occidentales*' Paris 1858, II, 352]

[1] Still a celebrated shrine of Durga, a short distance from Mirzapur

weary with long travel They were received. Whilst sitting together, we heard a drum, and my mother exclaimed, in a tone of regret, Your father's friend, boy, the actor Nandananda, holds some representation I replied, Do not be vexed, mother, I will go to see what is exhibited, and will bring every word to you This vaunt astonished our guests, who, to try my memory, recited the Pratisakhya[1], which I immediately after repeated to them They then accompanied me to the play, of which I repeated every speech to my mother, on our return home One of the Brahmans, Vyadi[2], then addressed my mother, and told her I was the person of whom he was in search

It appeared that he and Indradatta were born at Vetasa, cousins, and were both left orphans at an early age They were after a time commanded in a dream to seek for a preceptor at Pataliputra, in a Brahman, named Varsha, and the youths repairing thither discovered him, but found him an idiot They ascertained, however, that in consequence of a special boon conferred upon him by Kumaraswami[3], he was endowed with every science, under a *condition to impart* it only to a Brahman, who should retain the whole upon once hearing the lesson As neither of these

[1] A short section of the Vedas [or more strictly, 'a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas Müller, Anc Sanskrit Lit p 119]

[2] [On Vyadi comp Goldstucker, Panini London 1861, p. 210 ff and Weber Ind Stud, V, 127 ff]

[3] The deity Kartikeya

man from the south, whilst engaged on a pilgrimage to Kanakhala, near Gangádwára[1], died, and left three sons. They subsequently repaired to Rájagriha[2] for instruction, and thence removed to Chinchiní, a city on the sea shore, south from the shrine of Kumára Swámí. They were kindly entertained by Bhojika, a Brahman, who gave them his three daughters in marriage. After a time, the country was afflicted by famine; and the three husbands, deserting their wives, set off to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Talents and relationship touch not the hearts of the wicked. The wife of the second brother proved pregnant, and was delivered of a son, whose helpless situation attracted the pity, and propitiated the guardian care of Deví and Siva. The first effect of this powerful patronage was the discovery, by the women, of an immense treasure, which being judiciously expended, elevated the boy to princely possessions. By the advice of his grandfather's friend, and his own guardian Yajnadatta, Putraka, as the lad had been named, distributed publicly

gupta, or Sandrocoptos; and consequently the chief institutes of Sanskrit grammar are thus dated from the fourth century before the Christian era. We need not suppose that Somadeva took the pains to be exact here; but it is satisfactory to be made acquainted with the general impression of a writer, who has not been biassed in any of his views by Pauraṇik legends and preposterous chronology. [Weber, I. I., V, 143. Müller, I. I., 240–43.]

[1] The modern Haridwar, and village of Kankhal near it. [Saint-Martin, I. I., III, 347.]

[2] The ancient capital of Magadha, or Behar, the ruins of which were described in our number for July.

splendid gifts, at various seasons, to the Brahmans, in the hope of attracting and discovering his father The scheme succeeded, and the three brothers returned to claim their wives, and interest in the young Raja The claim was joyfully recognized, but the evil propensities of the fraternity prevailing over natural affection, they conspired the death of the prince, and his own father led him into a temple, where he left him to be murdered by assassins, covertly stationed for the purpose The murderers were, however, induced, by the intreaties and presents of Putraka, to let him escape, and he fled into the forests His father and uncles met the fate that ever attends the ungrateful[1] the officers of the young Raja accused them of having killed him, and falling upon the culprits, sacrificed them to his memory

In the mean time, Putraka whilst wandering in the woods, beheld two men struggling with each other He enquired who they were They replied, that they were the sons of Maya sur, and were contending for a magic cup, staff, and pair of slippers the first of which yielded inexhaustible viands, the second generated any object which it delineated, and the third transported a person through the air The strongest of the two was to possess these articles Putraka then observed

---

[1] *We may here observe once for all, that the stories of the* Katha Sarit Sagara are constantly interspersed with pithy maxims of sound morality The expression here is Kritaghnanam Sivam kutah, whence (should be) the prosperity of the ungrateful?

to them, that violence was a very improper mode of settling their pretensions, and that it would be better they should adjust the dispute by less objectionable means. He therefore proposed, that they should run a race for the contested articles, and the fleetest win them. They agreed, and set off. They were no sooner at a little distance, than Putraka, putting his feet into the slippers, and seizing the cup and staff, mounted into the air, and left the racers to lament in vain their being outwitted.

Putraka alighted at a city called Akarshika, and took up his residence with an old woman, from whom he received accounts of the beauty of the king's daughter, whose name was Patali. Having in consequence formed an intimacy with the princess, he carried her off, and alighted on the bank of the Ganges, where tracing the walls and buildings of a city with his staff, a stately town immediately arose. The people attracted to this place he maintained by the stores of his cup, and the place, named after his bride and himself Pataliputraka, became the capital of a mighty empire.[1]

Story of Vararuchi continued

Whilst residing with my preceptor, I became acquainted with his niece Upakośá, at the festival of In-

---

[1] The famous and much disputed city of Palibothra. [Vid. Saint Martin, Étude sur la géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, Paris, 1858, p. 451 47.] We may attach what credit we please to this account of its origin. The marvellous properties of the cup

dia, and as we were inspired by mutual affection, we were soon married, with the consent of our relations. After having enjoyed the felicity of a wedded life some short time, I was induced to relinquish it, and repair to the Himalaya Mountains.

Amongst the pupils of Varsha was a Brahman, named Panini, a fellow of remarkable dullness, and so incapable of learning, that he was at last expelled from the classes. Deeply sensible of this disgrace, he had recourse to devotion, and setting off to the snowy mountains, propitiated Siva by a course of severe austerities, in consequence of which the god communicated to him the system of grammar which bears his name. Returning in triumph, he challenged me to a public disputation, and we argued on an equality for seven days; on the eighth the discussion was interrupted by a hideous noise, which disconcerted me and my abettors, and left Panini without a competitor. From this time his grammar supplanted mine, and In

---

and slippers will have, no doubt, struck our readers as fictions with which they have long been familiar. The story is told almost in the same words in the *Behar Danish*, a purse being substituted for the rod, and Jehandar obtains possession of them in a very similar manner. Weber (Eastern Romances, Introd. 39) has noticed the analogy which the slippers bear to the cap of Fortunatus. The inexhaustible purse, although not mentioned here, is of Hindu origin also, and a fraudulent representative of it makes a great figure in one of the stories of the Dasa Kumara. [ch 2. See also L. Deslongchamps, Essai sur les Fables Indiennes, Paris, 1838, p. 35 f. and Grässe, *Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1842, p. 191 f.]

dra's and all others, and we were compelled to acknowledge his superiority

The degradation I thus experienced poisoned all my enjoyments I determined therefore to have recourse to the origin of my humiliation, and by acquiring the favour of Mahadeva, regain my lost distinction I therefore departed to the mountains, leaving to Upakosa the management of our affairs

Story of Upakosa the Wife of Vararuchi

Whilst I was thus absent, my wife, who performed with pious exactitude her ablutions in the Ganges, attracted the notice and desires of several suitors, especially of the king's domestic priest, the commander of the guard, and the young prince s preceptor, who annoyed her by their importunities, and terrified her by their threats, till at last she determined to expose and punish their depravity

Having fixed upon the plan, she made an appointment for the same evening with her three lovers, each being to come to her house an hour later than the other Being desirous of propitiating the gods, she sent for our banker the obtain money to distribute in alms, and when he arrived, he expressed the same passion, as the rest, on her compliance with which he promised to make over to her the money that I had placed in his hands, or on her refusal he would retain it to his own use Apprehending the loss of our property, therefore, she made a similar assignation

kets, said aloud, You promise to deliver to me my husband's property, and he replied The wealth your husband entrusted to me shall be yours On which she turned towards the baskets, and said, Let the gods hear the promise of Hiranyagupta The bath was then proposed to the banker Before the ceremony was completed, the day began to dawn, on which the servants desired him to make the best of his way home, lest the neighbours should notice his departure, and with this recommendation they forced him, naked as he was, into the street Having no alternative, the banker hastened to conceal himself in his own house, being chased all the way by the dogs of the town

As soon as it was day, Upakosa repaired to the palace of Nanda, and presented a petition to the king against the banker for seeking to appropriate the property entrusted to him by her husband The banker was summoned He denied having ever received any money from me Upakosa then said When my husband went away, he placed our household gods in three baskets, they have heard this man acknowledge his holding a deposit of my husband's, and let them bear witness for me The king, with some feeling of surprise and incredulity, ordered the baskets to be sent for, and they were accordingly produced in the open court Upakosa then addressed them Speak, gods and declare what you overheard this banker say in our dwelling If you are silent, I will unhouse you in this presence Afraid of this menaced exposure, the tenants of the baskets immediately exclaimed,

Story of Vararuchi—continued

I now returned from my sojourn in the Snowy Mountains, where by the favour of Siva I had acquired the Paninya grammar. This I communicated to my preceptor Varsha, as the fruit of my penance, and as he wished to learn a new system, I instructed him in that revealed by Swamí Kumára. Vyadi and Indradatta then applied to Varsha for like instruction, but he desired them first to bring him a very considerable present. As they were wholly unable to raise the sum, they proposed applying for it to the king, and requested me to accompany them to his camp, which was at that time at Ayodhya. I consented, and we set off.

When we arrived at the encampment, we found every body in distress, Nanda being just dead. Indradatta, who was skilled in magic, said: This event need not disconcert us, I will transfuse my vitality into the lifeless body of the king. Do you, Vararuchi, then solicit the money. I will grant it, and then resume my own person, of which do you, Vyadi, take charge till the spirit returns[1]. This was assented to, and our companion accordingly entered the carcase of the king.

---

agrees with the Hindu original, in putting the lovers out of the way and disrobing them by the plea of the bath.

[1] This forms the leading event of the story of Fadlallah, in the Persian Tales. The dervish there avows his having acquired the faculty of animating a dead body from an aged Brahman in the Indies.

Story of Yogananda

The revival of Nanda caused universal rejoicing The minister Sakatala alone suspected something extraordinary in the resuscitation As the heir to the throne, however, was yet a child, he was well content, that no change should take place, and determined to keep his new master in the royal station He immediately, therefore, issued orders that search should be made for all the dead bodies in the vicinage, and that they should forthwith be committed to the flames In pursuance of this edict, the guards came upon the deserted carcase of Indradatta, and burning it as directed, our old associate was compelled to take up his abode permanently in the tenement, which he had purposed to occupy but for a season He was by no means pleased with the change, and in private lamented it with us, being in fact degraded by his elevation, as having relinquished the exalted rank of a Brahman for the inferior condition of a Sudra

Vyadi having received the sum destined for our master, took leave of his companion Indradatta, whom we shall henceforth call Yogananda* Before his departure, however, he recommended to the latter to get rid of Sakatala, the minister, who had penetrated his secret, and who would, no doubt, raise the prince Chandragupta to the throne, as soon as he had attained to years of discretion It would be better, there

* [i e Nanda through Sorcery]

fore, to anticipate him, and, as preparatory to that measure, to make me, Vararuchi, his minister Vyádi then left us, and in compliance with his counsel, I became the confidential minister of Yogananda

A charge was now made against Sakatala of having, under pretence of getting rid of dead carcases, burnt a Brahman alive, and on this plea, he was cast into a dry well with all his sons A plate of parched pulse and a pitcher of water were let down daily for their sustenance, just sufficient for one person The father, therefore, recommended to the brothers to agree amongst themselves, which should survive to revenge them all, and relinquishing the food to him, resign themselves to die They instantly acknowledged their avenger in him, and with stern fortitude, refusing to share in the daily pittance, one by one expired

After some time, Yogananda, intoxicated, like other mortals, with prosperity, became despotic and unjust I found my situation, therefore, most irksome, as it exposed me to a tyrant's caprice, and rendered me responsible for acts, which I condemned I therefore sought to secure myself a participator in the burthen, and prevailed upon Yogananda, to release Sakatála from his captivity, and reinstate him in his authority He therefore once again became the minister of the king

It was not long before I incurred the displeasure of Yogananda, so that he resolved to put me to death Sakatála, who was rejoiced to have this opportunity of winning me over to his cause, apprised me of my

danger, and helped me to evade it, by keeping me concealed in his palace Whilst thus retired, the son of the king, Hiranyagupta, lost his senses, and Yogananda now lamented my absence His regret moved Sakatála to acknowledge that I was living, and I was once more received into favour I effected the cure of the prince, but received news, that disgusted me with the world, and induced me to resign my station, and retire into the forests My disgrace and disappearance had led to a general belief, that I had been privately put to death This report reached my family Upakosa burnt herself, and my mother died broken-hearted

Inspired with the profoundest grief, and more than ever sensible of the transitory duration of human happiness, I repaired to the shades of solitude, and the silence of meditation After living for a considerable period in my hermitage, the death of Yogananda was related to me by a Brahman, who was travelling from Ayodhya, and had rested at my cell

Sakatála, brooding on his plan of revenge, observed one day a Brahman of mean appearance digging in a meadow, and asked him what he was doing there Chanakya, the Brahman, replied I am rooting out this grass, which has hurt my foot The reply struck the minister as indicative of a character, which would contribute to his designs, and he engaged him, by the promise of a large reward and high honours, to come and preside at the Sraddha, which was to be celebrated next new moon at the palace Chánakya arrived, anticipating the most respectful treatment, but Yoga-

nanda had been previously persuaded by Sakatala to assign precedence to another Brahman, Subandhu, so that when Chánakya came to take his place, he was thrust from it with contumely. Burning with rage, he threatened the king before all the court, and denounced his death within seven days. Nanda ordered him to be turned out of the palace. Sakatala received him into his house, and persuading Chánakya that he was wholly innocent of being instrumental to his ignominious treatment, contributed to encourage and inflame his indignation. Chánakya thus protected, practised a magical rite, in which he was a proficient, and by which, on the seventh day, Nanda was deprived of life. Sakatala, on the father's death, effected the destruction of Hiranyagupta, his son, and raised Chandragupta[1], the son of the genuine Nanda, to the throne. Chánakya became the prince's minister, and Sakatala, having attained the only object of his existence, retired to end his days in the woods.

End of the Story of Vararuchi

All these things confirmed my satisfaction with the life I had adopted, and inspired me with the more anxious desire of being quickly liberated from such a fickle and feverish world. I therefore came to offer

[1] This is the Sandrocottus or Sandracoptos of the Greek writers. The story is told rather differently in the Puranas, and with still greater variation in the Mudra Rakshasa. [Wilson, Hindu Theatre Calc 1827 III, 14 ff Lassen, Ind Alt. II, 196-204]

my prayers for final emancipation to Vindhya Vásiní, when I encountered you, and was reminded of my former state I have related to you the wonderful narratives I learnt unbidden from the mighty Mahádeva The period of my transformation and punishment has expired I therefore depart to the holy asylum of Vadarika Do you yet tarry here awhile, until a Brahman, Gunádhya, arrive Impart to him what you have learnt from me, and your task will then be accomplished So saying, Vararuchi took his leave of Kanabhúti, and departed to Vadarikasrama, where, throwing off this mortal coil, he resumed, as Pushpadanta, his seat amongst the brilliant spirits of heaven

---

Ib June 1824 p 266—87

Story of Malyavan, or Gunadhya

After Vararuchi had departed, it happened that his friend Mályaván, who had been born as Gunadhya came to Vindhya Vasiní, and encountered Kanabhuti Upon beholding him, he recollected his original condition, and requested him to communicate the stories he had heard from Vararuchi, as the means of their being mutually restored to their state in heaven Having complied with his request, Kánabhúti begged him to relate his adventures on earth, to which Gunadhya readily acceded

Story of Gunadhya

Somadatta, a Brahman of Pratishthana[1], died, and left two sons and an unmarried daughter. The latter, named Srutarthá, became a mother before she was a bride, and when questioned by her brothers, she asserted that she had been espoused privately by Kirtisena, the nephew of the serpent monarch Vasuki, who upon the brethren continuing incredulous appeared to them and acknowledged the marriage I was born his son After a short time, my mother and my uncles died, and left me friendless I repaired to the south, and having acquired the knowledge becoming my caste, returned to my native city As I wandered through Pratishthana, I mingled with various orders of men, and overheard their conservation[2], until I

---

[1] Pratishthana, in the south, is celebrated as the capital of Salivahana It is identifiable with Pevtan on the Godavari—the Bathana, or Paithana of Ptolemy—the capital of Siripolemaios—a name in which, although much distorted, some affinity to Salivahana may be conjectured [Lassen I 1, II, 93, III, 171, more correctly, identifies this name with that of Sri Pulimin, of the Andhra dynasty, who reigned at Pratishthana after the over throw of the house of Śalivahana about 130 A D]

[2] Some stories of no particular interest are here related, amongst others, one of a young merchant, who begins the world with an empty crucible, exchanging it for a frying pan and a handful of pulse, with which he procures a few bundles of sticks from the wood-cutters, which he again sells, and in this manner gradually acquires a large fortune, presents some affinity to the first incident in the story of the king's son and his companions in the Kalila wa Dimna [ch 14]

found my way to the royal palace. Having attracted the notice and approbation of one of the ministers, I was introduced by him to the king Satavahana, and the prince, being pleased with my address, retained me in his service.

Kanabhuti now interrupted Gunadhya, and asked him to explain how Satavahana had acquired that appellation. Gunadhya then related the story.

Legend of Satavahana[1]

There was a monarch, called Dípakarni, whose wife, named Saktimatí, more dear to him than his existence, whilst reposing in a bower in the garden, was bitten by a snake, and died. The king, overcome with grief for her loss, made a vow to observe perpetual continence—a vow to which he rigidly adhered, although the want of a son to succeed him in the kingdom was a subject of profound affliction to him. Whilst thus

[1] Satavahana is usually considered synonymous with Śaliva hana the enemy of Vikramaditya, and the prince of whose juvenile career those marvels are narrated which appear to be derived from the Evangelium Infantiæ, and other spurious gospels (As. Res. Vol. X, p. 47). At the same time, it is to be observed, that these stories are not to be found in the Puranas. The chief authority cited by the late Colonel Wilford is the Vikrama Charitra, a compilation of fables of uncertain date, and no consideration. He quotes also the Kumarika Khanda of the Skanda Purana, for some circumstances of a less miraculous character, but even here the authority is very disputable, as the Khandas, or detached sections of the Puránas, have been multiplied at pleas

Story of Gunadhya

Somadatta, a Brahman of Pratishthana[1], died, and left two sons and an unmarried daughter The latter, named Srutartha, became a mother before she was a bride, and when questioned by her brothers, she asserted that she had been espoused privately by Kírtisena, the nephew of the serpent monarch Vasuki, who upon the brethren continuing incredulous appeared to them and acknowledged the marriage I was born his son After a short time, my mother and my uncles died, and left me friendless I repaired to the south, and having acquired the knowledge becoming my caste, returned to my native city As I wandered through Pratishthana, I mingled with various orders of men, and overheard their conservation[2], until I

[1] Pratishthana, in the south, is celebrated as the capital of Salivahana It is identifiable with Peytan on the Godavari—the Bathana, or Paithana of Ptolemy—the capital of Siripolemaios—a name in which, although much distorted, some affinity to Śálivahana may be conjectured [Lassen I 1, II 935 III, 171, more correctly, identifies this name with that of Sri Puliman, of the Andhra dynasty, who reigned at Pratishthana, after the over throw of the house of Śalivahana about 130 A D]

[2] Some stories of no particular interest are here related, amongst others, one of a young merchant, who begins the world with an empty crucible, exchanging it for a frying pan and a handful of pulse, with which he procures a few bundles of sticks from the wood cutters, which he again sells and in this manner gradually acquires a large fortune, presents some affinity to the first incident in the story of the king's son and his companions in the Kalila wa Dimna. [ch. 14]

found my way to the royal palace. Having attracted the notice and approbation of one of the ministers, I was introduced by him to the king Satavahana, and the prince, being pleased with my address, retained me in his service.

Kanabhuti now interrupted Gunadhya, and asked him to explain how Satavahana had acquired that appellation. Gunádhya then related the story.

Legend of Satavahana[1]

There was a monarch, called Dipakarni, whose wife, named Saktimati, more dear to him than his existence, whilst reposing in a bower in the garden, was bitten by a snake, and died. The king, overcome with grief for her loss, made a vow to observe perpetual continence—a vow to which he rigidly adhered, although the want of a son to succeed him in the kingdom was a subject of profound affliction to him. Whilst thus

---

[1] Satavάhana is usually considered synonymous with Śáliva hana, the enemy of Vikramaditya, and the prince of whose juvenile career those marvels are narrated, which appear to be derived from the Evangelium Infantiæ, and other spurious gospels (As. Res. Vol. X, p. 49.) At the same time, it is to be observed, that these stories are not to be found in the Puranas. The chief authority cited by the late Colonel Wilford is the Vikrama Charitra, a compilation of fables of uncertain date, and no consideration. He quotes also the Kumarika Khanda of the Skanda Purana, for some circumstances of a less miraculous character, but even here the authority is very disputable, as the Khandas, or detached sections of the Puranas, have been multiplied at pleas

distressed, he was directed by Siva, in a dream, in what manner to obtain a son and successor, without violating his faith to his departed wife. In obedience to the god's commands, he repaired to a certain forest to hunt, and whilst thus employed, met, as he had been forewarned, a lovely boy, riding upon a monstrous lion. Still acting as he had been enjoined, the king aimed an arrow at the beast, and he fell as dead. Immediately, however, uprose from the carcase a celestial form, who thus addressed the astonished monarch: "Dismiss your apprehension. I am a Yaksha, Sáta by name. It was my chance to see and love the beautiful daughter of a holy sage: my passion was returned, and this boy whom you behold is our son. When the secret of our union was discovered, the angry sire condemned us both to wear the forms of brutes, during the remainder of our earthly career. My bride was liberated from the effects of the curse in giv-

ure and are in many instances decidedly modern. The last work noticed is the Appendix to the Agni Purana, which is no part of that Purana, and is a modern composition. The legends relating to Salivahana may therefore, as is most likely, have been borrowed from the spurious gospels, but they do not, therefore, bear unfavourably upon the antiquity of the Puranas, as they are not found in the body of those works. How far they may be traced, even in the books cited, is a little doubtful, at least as applicable to Salivahana, for in the legend said to be extracted in the same essay from the Raja Tarangini, it is true, that the story is correctly given, but the person is not, as is said, Salivahana, nor in any way connected with his character. [The errors into which Wilford had fallen are fully exposed by Lassen, Ind. Alt., II, 881 ff. See also Append. VI. p. xxvii.]

ing birth to her son, and your shaft has rendered me the same kind office. I am now at liberty; but ere I depart to the region of the gods, I bequeath to you this child, to be cherished by you as your own." So saying, he vanished, leaving the boy with the king, who gladly received him, and gave him the name Sátaváhana, in reference to the appellation of his father, and the Váhana, or vehicle, on which the king had first beheld the infant mounted Upon the death of his adoptive father, Sátaváhana succeeded to the throne, and became a mighty monarch.

Amongst the remarkable transactions of his reign was the introduction of a new grammar[1], the Kálápa, or Kátantra. This was communicated to the king for his special use by the god Kártikeya, who had been propitiated by the worship of Sarvavarma, the king's minister. It was termed Katantra, from its small extent, and Kálapa, from the peacock (Kalapa) on which Kumára Swamí rides.

---

[1] This grammar is extensively in use in the eastern parts of Bengal The rules are attributed to Sarvavarma, by the inspiration of Kartikeya, as narrated in the text The vritti, or gloss is the work of Durga Singh, and that again is commented on by Trilochana Dasa and Kaviraja Vararuchi is the supposed author of an illustration of the Conjugations, and Sripati Varma of a Supplement Other commentaries are attributed to Gopinatha, Kula Chandra, and Visweswara [Aufrecht, Cat Bodl I, 168–70 Colebrooke, Miss Essays, II, 44 f]

Story of Gunadhya—resumed

The proficiency of the king in the new science being attained without my interference, I felt myself an unnecessary addition to his attendants, and accordingly took leave of him Accompanied by two of my disciples, I set off for Vindhyavasiní to worship the goddess, having been so enjoined by a dream On my way hither, I fell in with a variety of goblins, and acquired their language, which makes the fourth I have now mastered[1]. When I first arrived, you were absent, but your return recalls to my recollection all the past, and I now anticipate a speedy restoration to the height from which I fell

Kanabhúti, having heard the account from Gunadhya, professed himself ready to communicate the great narrative he had heard from Vararuchi, but intimated his wish first to learn how Pushpadanta and Mályavân had attained a place amongst the bands of heaven Gunádhya in consequence related to him the following

Story of Pushpadanta

In a village on the banks of the Ganges lived Govindadatta, a Brahman He had five sons, of goodly persons, but rude manners, and uncultivated minds

---

[1] These are in another place said to be Sanskrit, Prakrit, Desya, and Paisachi

they were instantly fast bound in the indissoluble chains of love After they had interchanged glances, she beckoned to him to approach He obeyed on which she took a flower, and having touched her teeth with it, threw it to him, and then disappeared Devadatta, taking the flower, returned home The flame that preyed upon his heart soon betrayed itself to the experience of his preceptor, and he quickly drew from him the secret of his passion When he heard of the flower, and the manner in which it was presented, he immediately concluded that some mystery was concealed in the act, and at last explained it to signify an assignation, on the part of the princess, to meet Devadatta at a temple called Pushpa, (a flower) The youth was charmed with this explanation, and set off to the temple to await the coming of the princess On the 8th day of the fortnight, she repaired thither to offer her adorations, and entering within the chamber where her lover lay concealed, was immediately pressed to his bosom She enquired how he had so readily apprehended her meaning but when he confessed he was indebted to his preceptor's sagacity, rather than to his own, she was highly offended with his lack of discernment, and left him in displeasure

Devadatta was now more wretched than ever, and his life was fast dissolving in the fire of separation, when Sambhu, commiserating his condition, sent one of his attendants, Panchasikha, to console and assist him Panchasikha made the youth put on a female garb, whilst he assumed the appearance of an aged

Brahman Thus changed, they repaired to the palace, where the supposed Brahman addressed the monarch thus —"King, I am an old man without connexions in your capital I sent my only son on family affairs some time ago to a distant country, and he does not return I am weary of expecting him, and fear some evil may have befallen him I will therefore go forth in quest of him, but how can I dispose of my daughter-in-law in the mean time? I leave her, king, as a sacred deposit in your charge" The monarch, afraid of the Brahman's malediction, reluctantly accepted the trust, and the supposed Brahman departed The daughter was transferred to the interior of the palace, where, revealing himself to the princess, Devadatta succeeded in pacifying her indignation, and recovering her regard She listened to his suit with complacency, and they pledged their troth to each other by the ritual that unites in wedlock the inferior spirits of heaven[1]

When it became no longer possible to conceal their secret intercourse, the friendly sprite was summoned by a wish to their assistance — he appeared, and conveyed Devadatta out of the palace by night The next morning he made the youth discard his female habiliments, and accompany him, again metamor-

[1] The form of marriage called Gandharva, in which the parties exchange garlands of flowers [Man 3 32 Yajnav I 61 In the laws of Vishnu ch 24 it is called the union of two parties by mutual consent and in the absence of their parents, dwayoh sa kamayor matápitrirahito yogah] The subject of this story is imitated in the Dasakumara, fifth section

phosed to a venerable Brahman, to the palace in the character of the son of whom he had been in search He came, he said, to claim his daughter in law, and the king ordered her to be sent for, but all parties were struck with real or seeming consternation, when it was announced that she was no where to be found The king, at a loss to comprehend the possibility of her evasion, and recollecting old legends, suspected that the Brahman was not what he seemed to be, and, apprehensive of incurring his displeasure, professed himself willing to submit to any conditions he should impose These were readily arranged, and the princess was given to the Brahman s supposed son, in exchange for the bride that he pretended to have lost The princess bore a son, who was named Mahídhara When the king was advanced in years, he retired to the forests resigning his sovereignty to his grandson, and after witnessing the glory of Mahídhara, his parents also withdrew from the world to the silence of the hermitage devoting all their thoughts to Sambhu, they obtained his favour, and when released from this mortal coil they were elevated to the rank of spirits, attendant on the god and his celestial consort, as Pushpadanta and his wife Jayá, the same whose indiscreet curiosity had lately been punished by their temporary return to the infirmities of human nature

Story of Gunadhya, or Malyavan—continued

Gunadhya then proceeded Having thus related to you the history of my friend and fellow spirit, I will

now resume my own In my former existence, Govindadatta, the father of Devadatta, was also mine my name was Somadatta, and in imitation of the example of my brother I set off to the Himálaya mountains, to propitiate the crescent-crested deity I performed austere penances in honour of him, and offered constant garlands to him, until, at last, he manifested himself, and proffered me a boon I prayed to be admitted into the train of his attendants, and he granted my prayer, naming me, with reference to my offerings, Mályavan (from Málá, a garland) The community of our original has influenced the friendly connexion, which has ever subsisted between me and Pushpadanta, and rendered me a sharer in his recent humiliation

Having thus communicated his adventures to Kánabhúti, Gunádhya received from him the seven great tales, the cause of his and Pushpadanta's fall Kánabhúti imparted them in the Paisachí language, in which Gunádhya wrote them with his own blood, as there was no procuring ink in the wilderness The tales were comprised in seven lacks of stanzas the communication of them was the work of seven years[1],

---

[1] The number is a favourite one with the Hindus, so in the Mahánátaka, when Rama pierces the seven palm trees with his arrow

अश्वा सप्त अगन्ति सप्त मुनय सप्ताब्धय सप्त गा ।
सत्य सप्त च मातरो भयभूत सप्तानसाम्यादिह ॥

"The seven steeds, seven worlds seven sages seven oceans seven

and all the subordinate spirits of earth and air attended the daily recitation At the close, Kanabhúti was liberated from the effects of his curse, and returned to his station, an attendant on the god of wealth

Gunádhya was now the only one who had a duty to fulfil before he was restored to his heavenly honours this was the communication of the Great Tales to Satavahana, to secure their perpetuation upon earth, accordingly he repaired to the vicinity of Pratishthána, and sent the books by two of his disciples to the king Sátavahana treated the present with contempt, and desired the scholars to carry it back to their master, for a work, he observed, in the language of fiends could not be worth human perusal, and characters traced with blood were only suitable to their infernal origin The disrespect shewn to such holy volumes affected Gunadhya profoundly Retiring to a neighbouring mountain, he read to his pupils, and the beasts of the field, and birds of the air, who flocked round him to listen, all the stories, except the history of Naravahanadatta, throwing each of the series as he completed it, into a fire kindled for the purpose The extraordinary character of Gunadhya's auditory at last came to the king's ears, and he was induced to visit the spot, and verify the report in person Upon finding that it was true, Sátavahana humbled himself be-

---

continents, and seven Mathis, were filled with fear, as being of the like enumeration '

fore the sage, and learned from him his story He was then anxious to have possession of the tales, and the one lack out of the seven which had escaped the flames was presented to him by Gunadhya, who presently, resuming his celestial character, returned to the service of Siva The stories were expounded to Satavahana by Gunadhya's two disciples, Gunadeva and Nandideva, and they were rewarded liberally with wealth and honours Sátaváhana also had the tales translated into the Sanskrit language, and this preparatory account of their origin composed[1].

End of the Introduction

THE FIRST, OR INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY OF NARAVAHANADATTA

Birth of Udayana, or the king of Vatsa[2]

In the central district of the delightful country call-

---

[1] The date of the first compilation should therefore be about A D 78, but we must not forget that this is fable—whether founded on fact is doubtful [See Prof F E Hall's edition of the 'Tale of Vasavadattá', Introd p 22 ff]

[2] Udayana is a celebrated character in Hindu fable so Kalidasa calls Oujein the populous resort of the bards who have celebrated the story of Udayana

प्राप्यावन्तीमुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान् ।

Megha Duta [32 Comp Hall's edition of Subandhu's Vásavadatta, Introd p 2-6 Vatsa being the name of the region in which Kausambi lay, we have throughout this story to under

ed Varsha[1], is the extensive city Kausambí, the first monarch of which was Satanika, the son of Janamejaya, whose father was Parikshit, the son of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. Satanika was killed in battle with the Titans, having gone to the assistance of Indra, and was succeeded in his throne by Sahasranika.

The fate of his father naturally interested Indra for the young prince, and he not unfrequently conveyed him to visit the regions of the skies. On one of these occasions he incurred the displeasure of Tilottama, a nymph of paradise, and she denounced an imprecation on his future fortune, sentencing him to the pangs of separation from his beloved. Sahasranika was married to Mrigavati, daughter of Kripavarma, King of Oude. During her pregnancy she was seized with a strange fancy, inspired, in fact, by the influence of the imprecation, to bathe in human blood. When the king found compliance with her longing was unavoidable, he deceived her by substituting an infusion of the lac dye, in which the queen contentedly performed her ablutions. The crimson tint left upon her person by the effect of the immersion, deceived one of the gigantic brood of Garuda[2], as he pursued his flight through

stand by Vatsa the king of that country Vatsaraja in the original. Hall I. 1 Introd. p 9 ff]

[1] Bharata Varsha or India is probably intended. Of Kausambi we spoke above (note p 167) The foundation of this city is here placed in the 5th generation about a century and a half subsequent to the war of the Mahábhárata.

[2] This is the Roc or Rokh of Arabian romance agreeing in the multiplicity of the individuals, as well as their propensity for

Udayana, and who was trained in letters and arms, and in the duties of his regal birth, by his venerable guardian.

When Udayana grew up, he rambled fearlessly through the forest, and on one occasion beheld a mountaineer catch a snake. The boy, in pity for the captive animal, requested the barbarian to liberate him, but the man stated, that he subsisted by snaring and exhibiting serpents, and that to part with his prize would injure himself. Udayana then offered him a golden bracelet for his expectations, for which equivalent the mountaineer relinquished the snake, and departed, well pleased with his bargain. As soon

---

[1] The regions below the earth, inhabited by the Nagas or serpents who seem, however, to assume at will the human shape. Their subterrene domiciles are remarkable for their splendour, particularly in gold and gems.

—— Let none admire
That riches grow in hell—that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane.

Connected with this notion is the popular superstition of the Hindus, that hidden treasures are often indicated by the haunts of particular serpents. [Grimm, deutsche Mythologie 1844 p 648 ff. Mannhardt german Mythen Berlin 1858 p 148 ff. Schwarz Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1860 p 4[illegible] ff. Wolf, Beiträge zur d. Myth II, 440 ff.] In fable, the Nagas have supplied the Arabian Nights, and chivalric romance, very liberally. Their mythological character is very important and curious. Faber has noticed some of the circumstances. The Nagas of the Hindus, however, appear an inoffensive race. [Troyer ad Rajatarangini, Vol II p 457–64.] They took refuge in Pátála to escape from the destructive hostility of Garuda. They often mix with mortals, but rarely if ever, for malignant purposes. We shall have occasion to recur to their history.

as he was gone, the snake, assuming a human shape, addressed Udayana, and told him he was the Vasunemi, the elder brother of Vasuki, the sovereign of the serpent tribes of Patala[1] He begged the young prince to accompany him to his palace, and Udayana readily assented, when, in requital of the service rendered to Vasunemi, both he and his brother loaded Udayana with the most precious and curious gems, presenting him, amongst other valuable gifts, with a lute of celestial manufacture—after which they reconveyed Udayana to the abode of his preceptor In the mean time the mountaineer descended to the plains to dispose of the bracelet and speedily met with the tents of Sahasranika, who was traversing the world in search of his queen The bracelet had been given to Udayana by his mother, who, to amuse her sorrows had engraved the name of her husband on its inner surface The inscription caught the eye of the persons to whom it was offered, and they conducted the barbarian to the king, to account for its possession When Sahasranika heard his story, he was transported with the hope of beholding his queen and son, and commanded the forester to conduct him and his train to the mountain without delay The man obeyed, and they found themselves shortly at the hermitage of Jamadagni, where Mrigavati and her son were restored to the embraces of the delighted king They returned together to Kausambi When Udayana had reached adolescence, his father resigned the sovereign authority into his hands, and returned with his consort to

the Himála mountains, to terminate their days in solitude and devotion

Story of Vatsa—continued

The young prince of Kausambí, ascending the throne in a period of peace and prosperity, had little other occupation than his pleasures Reposing the cares of state upon his trusty minister Yogandharayana, he spent much of his time in the forest engaged in the chase, which he followed, armed with the lute presented him by the serpent monarch,* whose dulcet notes attracted and tamed the most ferocious elephants At this period Chandasena was king of Ujjayiní He had a daughter named Vasavadattá, of such singular beauty and accomplishments, that her father held all the princes of the earth unworthy of her hand, except the young monarch of Kausambí at the same time their union was not easily to be effected, as the two kings were politically enemies of each other, and the sovereign of Ujjayiní determined therefore to have recourse to stratagem

With this view he sent an embassador to Vatsa, to say, that having heard of his musical proficiency, he was desirous of securing him as his daughter's preceptor, and would be happy to see that monarch accordingly at Ujjayiní Vatsa heard this affronting message with great indignation, but suppressed his resentment till he had consulted his minister Yogandharayana availed himself of the opportunity to give some salutary admonition to the young prince He observed

that he had drawn this affront upon himself,—that his addiction to frivolous pursuits was evidently noised abroad, and that indignity was the bitter fruit of an indifferent reputation—that it was clear the king of Ujjayini, trusting to the attractions of his daughter, purposed merely to get him into his power, when he would hold him captive, and seize his dominions—and that dissipation was a snare by which princes were entangled, as elephants were caught in pits, covered over with seeming verdure. After receiving these lessons, Vatsa returned to the hall of audience, and calling the envoy from Ujjayini before him, desired him to return to his master, and inform him, that if he were anxious his daughter should receive any instructions from Vatsa he must send her to Kausambi. With this retort the ambassador was dismissed.

Upon the departure of the messenger Vatsa called a council of his ministers and announced to them his intention of marching against Ujjayini and seizing the person of its king. From this his counsellors dissuaded him, and none more earnestly than Yogandharayana. Chandasena, he urged, was a prince of great prowess and prudence, and one not easily overcome, in proof of which he related his adventures.

Story of Chandasena, king of Ujjayini

The city of Ujjayini is the ornament of the earth, and with its white palaces derides the capital of Indra: for the agreeableness of whose site the Lord of the

universe, in his actual presence as Mahakala[1], disdains the summits of Kailasa[2]. Mahendravarma was king of this city; his son was Jayasena, and his son was Mahasena. This last prince obtained in his youth a sword of celestial temper, through his propitiation of the goddess Chandí, from which circumstance, and his own fiery disposition, he derived the appellation of Chandamahásena, or Chandasena.

By direction of his tutelary goddess, Chandasena set off in quest of a suitable bride, none of the daughters of his brother kings being worthy, in his estimation, of the honour of his alliance. Having pursued his way for a considerable distance through the shades of an extensive forest, he encountered a wild boar of gigantic stature, and as black as night. The king drew his bow, and struck him repeatedly with his shafts, but in vain. The animal was invulnerable. Leaping from his car, the prince prepared to assault him with his scymitar; but the monster fled from before him, and plunged into a yawning cavern. The king pursued him. After penetrating some distance, a blaze of light burst suddenly upon him, and he found himself in front of a splendid palace, on the lawn before which was a spacious reservoir of water.

Whilst Chandasena was meditating on this strange

[1] A famous Linga, so termed, existed at Ougein when the Mohamedans invaded India. It was broken to pieces by Altan l, in A.D. 1231.

[2] A part of the Himalaya mountains, the supposed favourite residence of Siva. A lofty portion of the range is still so named.

discovery, a bevy of beauteous damsels approached him, conducted by a nymph of exquisite loveliness, who courteously enquired the purpose of his coming He related to her the occurrences of the forest, and in return begged her to gratify his curiosity by informing him whither accident had led him Whilst the tear-drop started from her large and lucid eye, the nymph replied —

"You have been conducted, prince, by your evil destiny to the residence of my father My name is Angaravatí my sire is Angaraka, a Daitya, formidable to the gods, and endowed with a frame of adamant, impervious to hostile weapons The effect of an imprecation denounced upon him compels him to assume at times the condition of a fiend who preys upon mankind, when, in the form of a beast of the forest, he roams the thickets, and overpowers or ensnares the traveller Fatigued with to-day's encounter, and secure in imagination of his victim, he now reposes when he wakes, your destruction is unavoidable" Saying which, the damsel expressed the interest she took in the fate of the king

Chandasena having thanked the nymph for the sympathy she displayed, and declared the impression she had made upon his heart, told her to endeavour to ascertain whether her sire was every where alike impenetrable, and directed her how to obtain the secret. Going to Angáraka, therefore, she was found by him, when he woke, seemingly immersed in deep affliction He asked the cause, to which she answered, she feared

for his life, and should any mischance occur—should he fall by any hostile hand, what was to become of her? He told her to dismiss her apprehensions, as he incurred no peril. The whole of his skin was of adamant, the only vulnerable part being the palm of his left hand:—a wound there indeed would be fatal, but as it was employed in grasping the bow, it was consequently never exposed.' This was overheard by Chandasena, who had been covertly stationed by Angaravatí where he might listen to what passed between her sire and her.

Having risen from his couch, the Titan went forth to bathe and address his prayers to Hara. Whilst engaged in their silent repetition, the king appeared, and challenged him to combat. Angáraka, unwilling to break off his devotion, or to interrupt his inaudible prayer, waved to the king with his left hand to wait for a short period. Chandasena seized the opportunity, and, whilst the palm of the hand was turned towards him, let fly a shaft, which pierced the vital spot, and the Daitya instantly fell to the ground. As he breathed his last, he murmured, 'Let my conqueror offer daily libations to my spirit, if he hope to retain imperial sway.'

After the fall of Angáraka, Chandasena married Angáravatí, and returned to Ujjayiní, where he continued to reign with uninterrupted prosperity. He had two sons by his queen, Bhupálaka and Pálaka, and one daughter, Vásavadattá, so named because she was the gift of Indra, (or Vásava) the deity having appeared in a dream to the prince, and announced her birth as

the recompence of the magnificence with which the king had celebrated his festival. Thus favoured by the gods, and formidable in his own prowess and political resources, the monarchs of the earth must be careful how they provoke the resentment of Chandasena.

Story of Vatsa—resumed.

When the messenger of Chandasena returned to his master with Vatsa's reply, the king of Ujjayiní secretly pleased with the young prince's spirit, was only the more bent upon securing him for a son-in-law. With this purpose he had recourse to stratagem, and caused an elephant, the exact similitude of a celebrated animal in his possession, to be constructed by able artists. This he privately sent into the forests, where he knew Vatsa was accustomed to hunt, and left it there, filling the interior cavity with a party of armed men[1].

---

[1] 'Huc delecta virûm sortiti corpora furtim
Includunt cæco lateri penitusque cavernas
Ingentes uterumque armato milite complent.'
Virgil [Aen. II, 18.]

——"In the hollow side
Selected numbers of their chiefs they hide,
With inward arms the dire machine they load,
And iron bowels stuff the dark abode."
Dryden.

The conception was, however, as old as Homer at least.
'Ἵππῳ ἔνι ξεστῷ ἵν' ἐνήμεθα πάντες ἄριστοι
Ἀργείων, Τρώεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες.
Od. 4. 273.

In a few days the prince of Kauśámbí, resuming his usual habits, repaired to the Vindhya woods. His scouts, observing the artificial elephant at a distance, mistook it for a living animal, and carried the news to their master. Eager to seize so stately a captive, Vatsa advanced towards the elephant, in no degree surprised by its tranquillity, which he attributed to the effects of his magical lute, whose cords he struck as he approached slowly and alone, accompanying the sound with the sweetness of his voice. When he was close to the figure, the armed men sprang from their concealment. Vatsa struck the foremost to the ground; but he was presently surrounded, and resistance rendered vain. They hurried him off; and, being protected by strong parties stationed along the road, conveyed their prisoner in triumph to Ujjayiní.

On Vatsa's entering Ujjayiní, the people who had collected in crowds to see him were so much prepossessed by his blooming countenance and graceful deportment, that they exclaimed with one voice: "Vatsa must not be put to death; keep him, but kill him not:" and Chandasena, in order to allay the tumult, was

---

'When in the finished horse, the best of Greece
Sat breathing fate and misery to Troy."

And again, in the 8th Book. The story was told over and over again, before it got to Virgil, and therefore Heyne concludes 'Habebat poeta fabulam a multis tractatam et vulgarem ante se positam." Whether any of these earlier tales came from, or wandered to the east, can scarcely receive any illustration from what is here probably only an accidental coincidence.

obliged to promise them his prisoner's personal security

The king of Ujjayiní next delivered Vatsa to his daughter, as her preceptor in musical science He told the prince, that if he would render Vásavadattá a proficient, he had nothing to apprehend, but might expect an equivalent reward And Vatsa, as soon as he beheld the beauty of the princess, felt not a whit reluctant to undertake her tuition She was equally well contented with her master, and gave up all her thoughts to him, for though modesty may check the eye, the heart is beyond control Thence many delightful hours were passed by both in the musical saloon, as Vatsa, with his lute suspended from his neck, gave utterance to the impassioned notes, that were re echoed by his fair pupil, as she stood in all her loveliness before him

When the news of Vatsa's capture reached Kausambi, the people, inflamed with resentment, urged an immediate invasion of the territories of Ujjayiní The wisdom of the ministers, however, afraid to contend openly with the power of Chandasena, allayed the ferment, and they engaged to rescue their prince by less hazardous means Yogandharayana undertook to effect his liberation in person, and set out, accompanied by Vasantaka, for Ujjayiní, leaving to Rumanwan [1] the charge of Kausambí

---

[1] Wherever the king of Vatsa is the hero of the history these three are part of the dramatis personæ Yogandharayana as chief minister, possessing also magical power unites the character of Turpin and Merlin Vasantaka is a sort of buffo, as well as a

On his way through the Vindhyan thickets, vast as his experience, and intricate as his policy, Yogandharayana paid a visit to the chief of the forest tribes. The king of the Pulindas[1] was an ancient ally of Kausambí, and, by desire of the minister, he prepared his bands to cover the escape of Vatsa, as he should return through the woods. This arrangement being effected, the minister resumed his route to Ujjayiní. He halted on the funeral ground without the city, where, employing his magic skill, he transformed himself to the semblance of a decrepid and crazed old man, and

---

minister, and the personal friend of the prince, and Rumanwan is the general or commander in chief.

[1] In vocabularies, the term Pulinda is applied to any forest or barbarous tribe. In these stories it is especially assigned to the foresters of the Vindhya mountains, extending across India, from Vindhyavasini, or Mirzapur, and even as high up as near Mathura, along the line of the Narmada, to Guzerat. The author of the Vrihat Katha here probably describes this part of India, as it was delineated in works prior to his day, when the tract of central forest must have been vastly more extensive than in modern times, and the greater part of Malwa and Ajmir were occupied by barbarians, the ancestors of the Bhils and Gonds, who are now confined to the hills, and who do entertain some traditionary notions of having once occupied less ungenial sites. The Pulindas were known to the ancients by the same appellation, and, according to their information, tenanted similar tracts. The Pulindas of Ptolemy extend along the banks of the Narmada to the frontiers of Larice, which corresponds generally with Guzerat. Both they and the river are north of Ozene, or Oujein, and between it and Modura Deorum, or Mathura, on the north—a strange dislocation of positions, it must be confessed, in some respects, but corresponding, as far as the Pulindas are concerned, very faithfully with our text, and with the probable truth.

When the princess returned from the temple, Vasantaka presented himself at the palace gate, and at the instance of Vatsa was invited to enter. His deformities excited the mirth and compassion of Vasavadatta, and she desired him to remain in the palace, promising that he should be taken care of. On her further asking him whether he possessed any learning, he said, he was deeply read in story telling, and gave her the following proof of his talent.

Story of Lohajangha.

In Mathurá dwelt a public dancer, named Rupaṇika of great beauty and accomplishments. Her charms attracted universal admiration, and many advantageous proposals were made to her. To the great vexation of her mother, however, she treated all her suitors with disdain, and fixed her undivided affections upon a young and indigent Brahman, named Lohajangha, whom she had met at a public festival in one of the many temples, which decorate the birthplace of Krishna.

Finding that remonstrances were unavailing, the old woman determined to have recourse to other means, and to get rid of the obnoxious lover by violence. For this object she had Lohajangha waylaid by bravoes, and so unmercifully beaten, that he scarce escaped with life. He got away, however, from his assailants, and fled to the neighbouring forests, where, still doubtful of his security, he was rejoiced to creep into an

elephant's hide, which had been completely hollowed out by jackals, so that the skin alone remained The effect of his bruises, and the cold breeze, lulled him to sleep, but he was speedily awakened by fresh misadventures A tremendous fall of rain came on, and the river, overpassing its boundaries, swept through the forest, and carried the hide and its inhabitant along with it in its course Whilst floating down the stream, a bird of Garuda's breed, perceiving it, darted on the skin, and bore it in his beak across the main to Lanka Here alighting, he prepared to gorge upon his prize, when Lohajangha making his appearance, frightened the animal, and put him to flight

Lohajangha looking round him, and observing the ocean, rubbed his eyes, and fancied he was in a dream To add to his apprehensions, two Rakhasas of hideous aspect presented themselves at some distance, but, luckily for him, they were no less alarmed than himself They still recollected the humiliation their race had sustained from mortal prowess, and dreaded another Ráma in the individual they beheld One of them set off forthwith to Vibhíshańa, to announce the event to the prince[1], who, partaking the sentiments of

[1] Vibhishana, the brother of Ravana, endeavoured to persuade him to avoid hostilities with Rama, by resigning Sita to her husband On Ravana's persisting to retain her, Vibhishana deserted him, and joined Rama, in reward of which he was appointed, after his brother's overthrow, monarch of Lanka This Rakshasa chief is supposed by the Hindus still to exercise the sovereignty of the island, and they will not admit, therefore, the identity of

his followers, desired the Rakshasa to go immediately, and with all possible respect invite the man to his palace

When the Rakshasa returned to Lohajangha, and conveyed to him his monarch's message, apprising him at the same time into whose hands he had fallen, the courage of Lohajangha revived, and he determined to turn his visit to good account Repairing, therefore, to Vibhíshana, he told the Rákshasa chief that he was a Brahman of Mathura, that, being in extreme indigence, he had applied for succour to Vishnu, and that the deity had instructed him to go to Lanka, where Vibhíshana, his faithful votary, would gladly relieve the distress of one who was equally attached to his worship Lohajangha added, that he had enquired who Vibhíshana was, and where he was to be found, on which he was told not to take any trouble upon the subject, and accordingly, having gone to sleep as usual, he found himself, when he awoke, on the sea coast of Lanka

Vibhíshana, knowing that Lanka was accessible by

Lanka and Ceylon, conceiving the former invisible, or inaccessible to mortals It is rather singular that the traditions of Ravana and Ráma seem unknown on the island, or at least that they are not locally applied The only mention, indeed, of Ravana that occurs, is in the history of Ceylon, published in the Annals of Oriental Literature, and he is there made a prince of the main land 'The demon Ravana governed the country between Tutacoreen and Ceylon' The traditions of the south also extend the dominion of Ravana to the Terra Firma, and make Trichinapali one of his frontier fortresses

no ordinary means, was induced, by the mere fact of Lohajangha's presence, to credit his story, and accordingly sent his emissaries to bring treasure from the mountain with the golden base He gave him also a young bird of the Garuda breed to convey him back to Mathura, instructing him how to manage the animal Lohajangha, in the mean while, spent his time agreeably in conversation with Vibhíshana, who related to him this legend, explaining how it chanced that Lanka was made of wood

Origin of Lanka

Desirous of liberating his mother from the state of servitude to the parent of the Nagas, and to pay the fixed price of her liberation, the ambrosia of the immortals, Garuda prepared to carry off the celestial beverage by fraud or force[1] To collect sufficient strength for his enterprize, he applied to his father Kasyapa for invigorating food The seer directed him to go to the ocean, where he would find a large elephant and tor

[1] Kadru, the mother of the serpents and Vinata the mother of Garuda, both wives of Kasyapa disputed about the colour of the horses of the sun They agreed to decide by a bet—an ancient custom, it should seem and the loser was to become the bondswoman of the winner Vinata the mother of Garuda lost the wager and her liberty but Kadru agreed to give her her manumission, if her son would procure the amrita the beverage of immortality, for the benefit of her own ophitic progeny This is the legend alluded to in the text [Mahabh I, ch 16 ff Weber, Ind Studien I 224, Note]

toise, whom he might seize and devour Garuda did as he was instructed, and after his meal rested on a branch of the Kalpa tree, or tree of heaven The branch gave way with his weight In fear of its falling upon the holy Balakhilyas[1], who prosecuted their devotions at the foot of the tree, he laid hold of it, and bore it away with his beak Kasyapa, out of regard to the security of mankind, commanded Garuda to carry it to some lonely spot, where he might let it fall without doing mischief He accordingly deposited it on the ocean, and it served as a base, on which the wooden fabric of the island was subsequently reared[2]

Story of Lohajangha—concluded

After this, Lohajangha, being well laden with gold and gems, mounted his now docile bird, and returned with the speed of thought to Mathura, carrying also a golden club, shell, and discus, as presents from Vi

---

[1] Pigmy saints the size of the thumb, the probable original of
—'That small brood
Warred on by cranes,
and not improbably connected, as supposed by the writer in the Quarterly Review No XLI, with the character of Daumling, Thaumlin Tamlane, Tom a lyn, or Tom Thumb [Vishnu Pur p 83]

[2] This legend, absurd as it is, is rather of a curious character especially as it differs from the Pauranik story According to a supplement to the Ramayana, Lanka was made of gold by Viswakarma, for the especial residence of Kuvera, from whom it was *taken by Ravana*

bhíshana to the shrine of Vishnu He alighted in a deserted temple without the city, and there concealed his treasures, and fastened his bird taking one of the jewels, he sold it in the market, and with the price bought food, clothes, and ornaments He then returned to his hiding-place, and at night, mounting his winged steed, he repaired to the dwelling of his mistress Having been received by her with joyful recognition, he taught her how to play her part to be revenged on the cause of their separation, and then returned to his concealment

In the morning, Rupaniká kept herself in her apartment, and assumed a mysterious silence She would only speak with her mother *, after causing a screen to be drawn between them, and then condescended to tell her, that she was the bride of Vishnu, and could not commune any more with mere mortals To remove the old woman's doubts, she told her to keep watch at night, in consequence of which she beheld the pretended Vishnu arrive with the emblems, and mounted on the vehicle of the god Entertaining no further doubt, she requested her daughter to impart to her some of the benefits of such exalted visitation

The reply to the request of Makarandanshtra was to this effect She was told she was too wicked to be admissible into Swarga in her own person, but that on the early morning of every eleventh day of the fortnight, the gates of Indra's heaven were set open to

* [Makaradanshtra]

all comers At this time the followers of Sambhu passed in and out in bands, and if she could get amongst the crowd, she might perhaps pass in unobserved For this purpose it would be necessary for her to disguise herself like them, by tying her hair in five tresses, hanging a string of bones round her neck, throwing off all her attire, and smearing one side with lamp black, and the other with vermilion[1] The old woman assented to these conditions, and at the appointed time Lohajangha carried her off on his bird He had observed in the front of a temple a tall pillar, surmounted by a stone ring, or wheel, and here he lodged her as the banner of his retaliation here she remained throughout the night, suspecting she was tricked, dreading discovery, and with difficulty maintaining her station[2] The morning had scarcely dawned, when she was recognised by the people, and young and old assembled in crowds, enjoying her mishap, and laughing heartily at her ridiculous appearance at length Rupanika came to her aid, and had her carried home *The prince of Mathura offered a reward to the individual* whose ingenuity had devised the frolic, and Lohajangha, coming forward, related his story, to the

---

[1] Thus she represented the *Ardhanariswara or Siva, half male* and half female, which compound figure is to be painted in this manner

[2] This presents some analogy to the story in the Decamerone (Nov 7 Gior 8) of the scholar and the widow, la quale egli con un suo consiglio di mezzo luglio ignuda tutto un di fa stare in su una torre

entertainment and astonishment of the people and their lord With the approbation of the latter, Lohajangha was married to Rupaniká, and they passed their days in affluence and pleasure[1]

Story of Vatsa—resumed

In the course of a short time, the affections of Vasavadatta were so firmly fixed on Vatsa, that country and parents were light in the comparison Yogandharáyana now reappeared, to announce that every thing was prepared for their flight, and the keeper of Vá-

---

[1] The bold assumption of a masquerade character of divinity is probably borrowed from practices not unknown to the Hindus, although more rare than with the Babylonians, Lycians, and Egyptians when the priest pretended

> 'That sometimes did the mightiest not disdain
> To veil his glories in a mortal shape,

And that he trod

> This earth so conscious, that the best of deity,
> The power and majesty resided in him
> That be but stooped to win himself a bride,
> Beneath another name

Milman's Belshazzar

As a fable, the mortal personation of Vishnu is similarly related in the Pancha Tantra [I 5], *only instead of a real bird*, the lover rides an artificial one, the prototype of the 'wondrous horse of brass', the flying steed of Rugiero, and other marvellous fabrications familiar to romance, more closely imitated, in object *as well as* structure, however, in the Labourer and Flying Car of the additional tales of the Arabian Nights, and in Malek and Shirin, in the Persian Tales [Benfey, Pantschatantra Leipzig 1859 I, 148 159 62 Boccaccio, Decam IV, 2]

savadatta's elephant, a beast of unequalled velocity, bribed to lend them aid He therefore desired Vatsa to prevail on the princess to accompany him, and thus retaliate on Chandasena the trick he had practised, not doubting that he would subsequently assent with joy to their espousal The minister then departed to give notice to the forest monarch Vatsa repaired to the princess It needed little eloquence to persuade her to a measure to which she was so well inclined, and her concurrence was readily obtained Accordingly, when night came, Vasavadatta, with a confidential attendant, and Vatsa, with his friend Vasantaka, mounted the elephant, and set forth on their flight They took their way out of the city by a part of the wall that was broken down Vatsa having been compelled to engage and slay the two soldiers who were stationed at the post They then got clear of Ujjayini, and plunged into the adjacent woods

---

Ib Sept 1824 p 101—103

Flight of Vatsa

Vatsa continued his journey with unrelaxed speed and by noon the following day reached the Vindhya forests, a distance of sixty three yojanas[1] Here his

[1] A yojana, as a measure of distance is four cos, but as the

elephant was so overcome with fatigue and thirst, that the prince and his campanions alighted to relieve her Seeing a pool, she hastened to drink, and the effect of the draught, whilst thus heated, was presently fatal She fell, and expired Vatsa was thus compelled to pursue his journey on foot On entering the forest, he was attacked by a party of robbers, but maintained a conflict with them, until fortunately the chief of the Pulindas, on the watch for his return, came to his rescue, and conducted him and his attendants in safety to his village On the following morning Rumanwan, the general, arrived with a strong force, and Vatsa, now in security, continued to occupy the forest, until he received intelligence from Ujjayini of the events

cos is variously computed it will be equal to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 or 9 miles We need not estimate it in either case by the powers of the elephant for they were supernatural but it may furnish some clue to the actual situation of Kauśambi Kausambi was on the Ganges Its dependencies bordered on Magadha the northernmost boundaries of which extended to Chunar At five miles to the yojana its frontier began 315 miles from Ougein This was some short distance say five miles from the Palli or station of the forest chief and it will hereafter appear that the latter was at a distance of a day s march from the capital for cavalry Allowing therefore 30 miles for this Kausambi was on the Ganges, not far from Chunar about 350 miles from Ougein There can be no doubt therefore that it was in, or about the lower part of the Doab which is not above 380 miles from Ougein and sufficiently near to Magadha These circumstances confirm the opinions stated in a former note, that the site of Kausambi is to be sought in the vicinity of Kurrah though it is rather singular, in that case, that no mention is made of the Jamna, which Vatsa should have crossed in his return to his capital

which had followed his departure. To amuse the princess during their halt, Vasantaka, at her request, related to her the following story.

Story of Guhasena and his Wife Devasmita

In the city of Tamralipti[1] dwelt a wealthy banker, named Dharmadatta. He was unhappy in the midst of his riches that he had no child to inherit them, and he applied to the Brahmans to obtain a son. To propitiate their favour, he celebrated the Homa, or sacrifice to fire, and distributed amongst them presents of great value. The consequence of his devotion was the birth of an heir, whom he named Guhasena.

When Guhasena approached manhood, his father carried him along with him in his mercantile expeditions, both to initiate him into the mysteries of trade, and procure him a suitable bride. With this last intention he applied to Dharmagupta, an opulent merchant of the island Kat́aha, but he was unwilling to give his daughter to one, who resided so far away as in Tamralipti, and on this account declined the alliance. His daughter, however, was of a different *opinion*. Having seen *Guhasena*, she was disposed to relinquish home and friends for his sake, and contrived, with the intermediation of a friend, to apprise

[1] Tamralipti is considered to be the same with Tumlook. Tamralipti is the capital. [V. de S. Martin in "Memoires sur les contrées occidentales", Paris 1858, II 392, and in his 'Etude sur la geographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde', p. 303 f.]

him of her sentiments He was equally ready to avail himself of her good wishes, and accordingly carried her off privately to Támralipti, where they were married, and continued to reside happy in the unvarying attachment of each other

After a time the father of Guhasena died, and it was necessary that he should visit foreign countries, in order to look after the mercantile concerns, that had now devolved on his sole care His wife, however, would not hear of his leaving her, apprehending not only the perils of travel, but her husband's becoming attached to some other woman in her absence It was in vain that he vowed the most unalterable fidelity, and undeviating affection She was not to be persuaded, and between the violence of her opposition and the urgency of his affairs Guhasena was utterly at a loss what conduct to adopt.

In this dilemma he had recourse to the gods, and having fasted and prayed in the temple of Śiva, returned sorrowfully home His appeal, however, was not in vain, and at night the deity appeared to Guhasena and his wife, presenting either with a red lotus, which would lose its colour and freshness, he said, only, if one of them in absence should prove inconstant[1] On their waking they found the flowers, and

---

[1] Some marvellous test of the fidelity of absent lovers is well known to western fable although with a want of gallantry very irreconcileable with chivalric feelings the application of it is usually directed to the exposure of female inconstancy alone The test is, however, of very various complexion, though flowers are

with this indication of her husband's fidelity Devasmita was contented to permit his departure

---

not omitted Thus in Perce Forest, it is a rose which, borne by a wife or maid of irreproachable virtue, preserves its freshness, and fades if the wearer is unchaste In Amadis de Gaul, it is a garland, which blooms on the head of her that is faithful, and fades on the brow of the inconstant In Les Contes à rire, it is also a flower *In Ariosto, the test applied to both male and female* is a cup, the wine of which is spilled by the unfaithful lover This fiction also occurs in the romances of Tristan, Perceval, and La Morte d Arthur, and is well known by La Fontaine s version, La Coupe Enchantee In La Lai du Corn, it is a drinking horn Spencer has derived his girdle of Florimel from these sources, or more immediately from the Fabliau, Le Manteau mal Taille [Le grand I 126] or Le Court Mantel, an English version of which is published in Percy s Reliques the Boy and the Mantel, (Vol III) In the Gesta Romanorum [c 69] the test is the whimsical one of a shirt, which will neither require washing nor mending, as long as the wearer is constant [See the literature ap Grasse, Sagen kreise des Mittelalters, p 185 ff] Davenant has substituted an emerald for a flower

—' The bridal stone,
And much renowned, because it chasteness loves,
And will, when worn by the neglected wife,
Shew when her absent lord disloyal proves,
By faintness, and a pale decay of life "

Gondibert, Canto IV

The miraculous properties of stones are of eastern origin, although we do not find in the Sanskrit or Arabic account of the emerald the property which Davenant has assigned it, unless he has fabricated a poetical notion from that which the Arabs derived from the Greeks, that this stone and jasper facilitated parturition

"Λεγονται δε παντες ειναι φυλακτηρια περιαπτα και ωκυτοκια μηρῷ περιαπτομενα" —Dioscor

Wieland has employed the flower and its change of colour, al-

Guhasena, having arrived at the island of Kataha, proceeded to dispatch his affairs, and to traffic in the sale of jewels. Having, in the course of these transactions, formed an intimacy with four young merchants, they noticed the lotus, which was frequently in his hand, and yet never faded, and were curious to learn its history. As he appeared reluctant to gratify their curiosity, they had recourse to stratagem, and invited him to an entertainment, at which they plied him with wine till he became intoxicated, and then acquainted them in his cups with the properties of the flower. The story only tended to make them anxious to know the object of Guhasena's affections, and relying upon his being detained some time at Katáha, they shortly afterwards embarked for Tamralipti, with a determination to subvert the fidelity of his wife.

On arriving at Tamralipti, they looked out for a proper agent of their iniquitous design, and soon found one in the person of an old Bauddha priestess,

---

though for a different purpose. Titania gives her three attendants a rose each from her garland, and when they lose their colour it is to indicate her reconciliation with Oberon.

"Thut wie ich euch gesagt, und alle Tag' und Stunden
Schaut eure Rosen an, und wenn ihr alle drey
Zu Lilien werden seht, so merket dran ich sey
Mit Oberon versöhnt und wieder neu verbunden."

"Observe then my commands, and every day and hour
With care behold each rose, and when it changes hue
And like a lily pines, be sure that with the power
Of Elfland appeased, my union I renew."

Canto IX, 35

named Yogakarandika, with whom they formed an intimacy Being secure of her friendly disposition, they communicated their purpose, and promised to reward her liberally, if she would assist them in their views on Devasmita She very readily promised to aid them, but declined their reward, as, thanks to her pupils, she was, she said, sufficiently wealthy, and her services were at their command, in requital of the civility with which they had treated her

Accordingly the old priestess set about forming an acquaintance with Devasmitá, and, leading with her a bitch in a chain, repaired to her house The wife of Guhasena, although mistrustful of her mission, desired her to be admitted, and enquired what she wanted The old priestess replied, that she had been long desirous of beholding so much excellence, but that she had now been directed in a dream to visit Devasmita, and to advise her not to lose in joyless widowhood the precious moments of her youth Devasmita pretended to listen favourably to these and similar suggestions, and the old woman departed, well satisfied with the impression she had made

On the day following, she repeated her visit to the wife of Guhasena, taking with her the bitch as before, and some morsels of meat highly seasoned These she contrived to give the animal, till from the effects of the pepper the tears trickled in large quantities from her eyes, so as to attract the notice of Devasmitá She bewails, said the woman, in answer to her remarks, the errors of her former life, and then told

r that the bitch and she were, in their former existce, the joint wives of a Brahman, who was frequently nployed on foreign missions by the king of the couny. That during his absence she had never imposed ny restraint upon her inclinations; but her companon had been more rigid, and had severely repressed he natural sentiments of her age and sex. The conequence of their different line of conduct was their espective births in the characters in which they now appeared, together with the recollection of their former existence. The old woman concluded by recommending Devasmitá to take warning from the story, and to learn that nature was not to be outraged with impunity[1].

---

[1] This incident, with a very different, and much less moral *denouement*, is *one of the stories of the* Disciplina Clericalis [XIV, see the notes in F W V Schmidt's edition, p 129–31], a collection of stories professedly derived from the Arabian fabulists, and compiled by Petrus Alfonsus, a converted Jew, who flourished about 1106, and was godson to Alfonso I king of Arragon In the analysis prepared by Mr Douce, this story *is the* 12th, and is entitled, 'Stratagem of an old woman in favour of a young gallant" She persuades his mistress, who had rejected his addresses, that her little dog was formerly a woman, and so transformed in consequence of her cruelty to her lover (Ellis's Metrical Romances, I, 130) This story was introduced *into* Europe, therefore, much about the period at which it was enrolled amongst *the contents of the* Vrihat Kathá in Cashmir The metempsychosis is so much more obvious an explanation of the change of forms, that it renders *it probable the story* was originally Hindu It was soon copied in Europe, and occurs in Le Grand as La vieille qui seduisit la jeune fille, III, 148 [ed III, Vol IV, 50] The parallel is very close, and the old woman gives "une chienne à manger des

Devasmitá, who well knew the drift of the old woman's narration, pretended to give it implicit belief, and encouraged her to propose the introduction of the lovers. A ready assent was given to the proposal, and whilst the priestess departed to announce her success to them, Devasmita prepared for their reception. The first who arrived was welcomed with great seeming cordiality, and invited to partake of a banquet, in which he was liberally plied with wine, into which some Datura powder had been infused. The drug quickly deprived him of consciousness, on which the servants of Devasmita stripped him, branded his forehead with the mark of a dog's foot, and turned him

---

choses fortement saupoudrees de seneve qui lui picotait le palais et les narines et l'animal larmoyait beaucoup. She then shews her to the young woman and tells her the bitch was her daughter, 'Son malheur fut d'avoir le cœur dur, un jeune homme l'aimait, elle le rebuta. Le malheureux apres avoir tout tente pour l'attendrir, desespere de sa durete, en prit tant de chagrin qu'il tomba malade et mourut. Dieu l'a bien venge, voyes en quel etat pour la punir il a reduit ma pauvre fille et comment elle pleure sa faute.' The lesson is not thrown away. The story occours also in the Gesta Romanorum [c. 28, ed. Swan I, 120 & 347, ed. Grasse I. 54. II. 259], as 'The old Woman and her little Dog,' and it also holds a place where we should scarcely have expected to find it, in the Promptuarium of John Herolt of Basil, an ample repository of examples for composing sermons: the compiler, a Dominican friar, professing to imitate his patron saint, who always abundabat exemplis in his discourses. [Comp. on the literature and history of this story. Th. Wright, Latin Stories. London 1842, p. 218. Loiseleur Deslongchamps. Essai sur les Fables Indiennes. Paris 1838, p. 106 ff. F. H. von der Hagen, Gesammtabenteuer 1850, I, cxii ff. and III, lccciii–cxii, and Grässe, I. 1, 374 ff.]

the great Yaksha, named Manibhadra, whose shrine was much frequented by the people, as he was supposed to grant whatever his worshippers requested. Offenders against law or decorum, taken by the police during the night, were locked up in this temple. In the morning they were brought before the king, and if proved guilty, the offence was made public, and they were taken away by the ministers of justice.

It so happened, that the husband of Saktimatí, being detected in an improper intercourse with the wife of another merchant, was carried off with the adultress, and imprisoned in the temple as usual. When Saktimatí heard the news, she forgot every thing but her husband's danger, and determined to attempt his release. With this purpose she proceeded at night to the temple with her attendants, and pretended extreme urgency to offer her homage to Manibhadra. The priests, afraid of losing a valuable contribution, were prevailed upon to give her admittance, and she was allowed to enter the temple alone. Having discovered herself to the culprits, she exchanged clothes with the partner of her husband's offence, and took her place in the prison.[1] In the morning, when the parties were brought before the king, and the merchant and Saktimatí were recognised as man and wife,

---

[1] A precisely similar story occurs in the Bahar Danish. The turn of the chief incident, although not the same, is similar to that of Nov. VII. Part 4. of Bandello's Novelle, or the Accorto Avvedimento di una Fantesca à liberare la padrona e l innamorato di quella de la morte.

they were dismissed with credit, whilst the superintendant of police was reprimanded and punished for the mistake

Story of Devasmita—concluded

Being equally determined to extricate her husband from all possible peril, Devasmita disguised herself and some of her servants in man's attire, and embarked as a merchant for Kataha Soon after her arrival, she found out her husband, and as he was unconsciously influenced by his secret affections, had no difficulty in forming acquaintance and friendship with him Having also ascertained the presence of her suitors, Desvamita repaired to the king, and demanded justice He enquired on what account, to which she replied, that she was in pursuit of four runaway slaves, whom she demanded the king's assistance to recover The king told her to look round her, as all the people of the city were assembled, and point out the persons she claimed She immediately designated the four merchants They were filled with fury at the charge, and appealed to all about them, if they were not known as freemen, and the sons of respectable traders Devasmita paid no heed to their vehemence, but coolly desired the Raja, if he doubted her words, to direct their turbans to be taken off This was accordingly done, when the branded badge of slavery was manifest upon their foreheads, to the great astonishment of the Rajá and the assembly To satisfy their curiosity, Deva-

smitá related her story All parties present applauded her spirit, and pronounced the culprits to be in justice her slaves But in respect to their origin and station, they proposed to give her a large sum for their ransom With the consent of her husband, this was accepted by Devasmita, and she and Guhasena returned together to Tamraliptí, where they continued to reside, possessed of abundance, and happy in each other

Story of Vatsa—resumed

Whilst Vatsa and the princess yet remained with the friendly forest chief, an envoy arrived from Chandasena, to tell them that he was far from displeased with what had occurred, and was about to send his son Gopalaka to represent him at his daughter's marriage Vatsa was well contented with this intelligence and, leaving a considerable portion of his attendants to await the arrival of Gopalaka, he and Vasavadatta set off to Kausambi

A mighty train of elephants followed in the prince's march, as if the forest had yielded its stateliest tribes to do him honour The earth, echoing to the hoofs of numerous steeds, heralded his advance, and the clouds of dust that canopied the host appeared like the flying mountains before Indra had clipped their wings[1] Having set off at dawn, Vatsa came in sight

[1] This alludes to an absurd Pauranik legend stating that the mountains formerly had wings—an addition which rendered them so very troublesome and refractory to Indra, the deity of the at

presented the prince with splendid gifts on the part of Chandrasena Vatsa and his new bride shewed themselves to the people, and received their loud and delighted acclamations They then repaired to the palace, where Vatsa conferred the honour of the fillet[1] on Gopalaka and the Pulinda prince, and then, deputing Yogandharayana and Rumanwan to superintend the festivities, both of the court and the people, retired with his bride

---

Ib Dec 1834, p 194–208

Vatsa's Second Marriage

After some period had elapsed, Yogandharayana, the minister, anxious to excite the prince to exploits worthy of his character and descent, held this discourse with Rumanwan —"Our sovereign Vatsa, as descended from the illustrious house of Pandu, is undoubtedly entitled to the capital Hastinapura, and dominion over the world Neglecting these lofty claims,

part of the Hindu marriage ritual, according to the Vedas [or more strictly, according to the Grihyasutras See A Weber's Indische Studien Vol V, 390 ff Colebrooke's Essays p 138]

[1] Pattabandha, binding of a fillet or tiara on the brow It was part of the ceremonial of coronation with the ancient Hindu princes, but was perhaps sometimes, as in this case, only an acknowledgment of princely rank conferred by a superior on his inferior or feudatory

he is contented to rule over a limited territory, and wasting his time upon women, wine, and the chace, leaves to our charge the conduct of the state But this is highly unbecoming his family and his talents, and we must endeavour to animate him to such efforts as shall retrieve his character, and extend his power There is no occasion to despair The worst cases are susceptible of cure, and ingenuity can effect any thing In proof of what I say, listen to this anecdote —There was a king, named Mahasena, who was attacked by another sovereign, defeated, and compelled to pay tribute He was a prince of high spirit, and his humiliation preyed upon his mind, so that he fell ill of the spleen, and was brought by fretting and the disease to the verge of the grave Medicines were administered in vain, and his physician as a last hope, entered suddenly into his chamber, apparently in great distress, and abruptly announced to him that the queen was dead The news agitated the king violently, and he cast himself on the ground in a paroxysm of sorrow The abscess in the spleen was burst by the effort, and his health immediately improved The physician, satisfied with the manifest change, confessed the falsehood by which it was occasioned Thus giving a fresh impetus to the king's spirits, he speedily resumed his former energies, and was soon able to levy an army, with which he attacked, and triumphed over his former conqueror[1] —In this manner let us serve our prince

[1] The circumstances here narrated are not without analogies

in his own despite —and in the first place, we must gain over the only monarch that stands in our way, Pradyota, king of Magadha[1]

The two counsellors accordingly debated how Pradyota was to be made their master's friend, and determined that it could only be contrived by Vatsa's marrying his daughter At the same time they knew that he never would permit the princess to be the second wife of any monarch, and Yogandharayana proposed that they should secure the aid of Vasavadatta, and with her concurrence disseminate a belief of her death To this Rumanwan objected the discredit they should sustain if their scheme were detected, as happened to the ascetic at Sákarmika on the Ganges

Story of an Ascetic

An ascetic, who professed to have imposed upon himself a vow of perpetual silence, lived in great repute at that city He subsisted on charity, had many mendicant disciples, and occupied with them a conventual dwelling with a temple attached At the house of a pious banker, who held the holy man in great

in fact. It is not marvellous therefore that we may trace them in fiction The point of the story is the same as that of the Deux Anglais a Paris a Fabliau and of Une femme a l extremite qui se mit en si grosse colere voyant son mari qui baisoit sa servante qu elle recouvra la sante of Marguerite of Navarre [Heptameron Nouvelle 1]

[1] Magadha was the kingdom of Behar extending along the Ganges from Patna to Mirzapore

reverence, the ascetic was accustomed to receive alms, and in so doing had frequent opportunities of seeing the banker's daughter, a girl of extraordinary beauty. Her charms made an impression upon the mendicant, and allowing his passions to master his penance, he long meditated upon the means by which, without betraying his hypocrisy, he might get her into his power.

Having at last devised what he thought a likely scheme, he repaired to the banker's house, and received his usual donation from the fair hands of the damsel. As he departed, he exclaimed, loud enough to be overheard by the father, "Alas! alas! that such things should be!" Exclamations that in themselves, as well as their violation of the mendicant's supposed vow, could not fail to excite the banker's curiosity. He therefore followed the ascetic to his cell, and when there, asked him earnestly what had induced him to break his silence. The mendicant replied, with some hesitation, and affected distress. "Regard for you, my good friend, overcame my solemn obligations. I read in your daughter's countenance a sad reverse for you; and whenever she marries, you, your wife, and sons, will inevitably perish. This conviction forced from me the exclamations you heard. It cannot now be remedied, but if you have any affection for the rest of your family, you will rid yourself of your daughter. Put her by night into a basket covered with leather[1], place

[1] This rude contrivance is still in use in the south of India.

a lamp upon it, and thus offer her to the holy Ganges" The banker, who implicitly trusted in the words of this villainous hypocrite, went home in an agony of fear and affliction, and, when night came, did as he had been enjoined

The ascetic, at the same hour, directed his disciples to repair to the river, and if they saw a basket with a lamp upon it, bring it ashore, and privately convey it to him, prohibiting them rigidly from any attempt to inspect its contents They obeyed his commands, and kept a look out for the object to which their attention had been directed by their master

In the mean time, however, a Rajput, walking upon the bank, was struck by the appearance of the floating light, and with the assistance of his servants, brought the basket ashore, before the current had conveyed it where the mendicant's followers were stationed Having opened it, and found the maiden, to his great surprise and delight, the Rajput conveyed her to his house, which was near at hand, and learning her story, determined to expose and punish the ascetic He therefore substituted a fierce baboon for the damsel, and fastening the basket again, committed it to the current as before It was now taken possession of by the mendicants, and agreeably to the orders of their chief, carried unopened to the convent He commanded them to place it in his chamber, and then desired them to

---

for crossing rivers it is also still employed upon the Euphrates, as it was in the time of Strabo

go to rest, and on no account to approach his cell, whatever noises they might hear, as it was his design to pass the night in some very solemn and momentous mysteries. They obeyed, and repaired to their repose.

The ascetic, being thus at liberty to accomplish his purposes, secured the door of his cell, and eagerly opened the basket. He had scarcely done so, when the baboon sprang upon him, and bit and scratched him unmercifully. It was in vain he called for assistance, his disciples were too mindful of his previous injunctions to venture near him. At last, with much difficulty, and after the loss of his nose and ears, he contrived to get out of his cell, and alarm the other inhabitants of the domicile by whose aid he was extricated from the clutches of his savage assailant. His secret, however, was divulged, and in the morning the story was spread throughout the town. The banker gave his daughter to her deliverer and the ascetic was glad to make his escape in a whole skin from a place where his iniquitous schemes had exposed him to universal derision and contempt.*

This story was insufficient to deter Yogandharáyana from the prosecution of his scheme, and Rumanwán, therefore, shifting his ground, argued the danger of

* [Two other versions of the same story occur one in the *Kathárnava chapt 2* and the other in the Bháratakadwatrinsiká c 3. See the Sanskrit text with a German translation by Prof A Aufrecht in Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl Gesellschaft, XIV, 569–81.]

Vatsa's dying through grief for the supposed loss of his queen separation from the object of our affections being often, he said, attended with serious results, as was the case with Devasena

Story of Devasena

In Sravasti dwelt a merchant of great opulence, but his richest treasure was a daughter of such surpassing loveliness, that all who beheld her became her slaves, and sacrificed their understandings to their passion The father, conscious of her extraordinary beauty, resolved to offer her to the king, Devasena, as, should he wed her to any other person, he apprehended he might afterwards incur the resentment of the Rája Accordingly, he requested Devasena's acceptance of the damsel, and the Raja sent some trustworthy Brahmans to visit the maiden, and report upon her qualifications When they beheld her, and found her so singularly beautiful, it occurred to them that if the Raja married her he was likely to be fascinated with her charms, and to neglect on her account the duties of his station They therefore reported, that, although a girl of good appearance, yet the marks upon her face and hands[1] were indicative of misfortune, and she was consequently unfit to become the bride of the king

[1] The Samudrika Vidya or science of palmistry as intimately connected with astrology was once carried to as extravagant a height in India as in Europe It is not much cultivated at present, but is not perhaps the less believed [Comp the Sabdakalpadruma, s v Samudrakam]

This negotiation being closed, the merchant soon afterwards married his daughter to the commander of the army, and nothing more was thought of the matter. It happened, however, some time afterwards that the Rája beheld the bride at the window of her husband's palace, and was instantly the victim of a violent passion, blended with the mortifying recollection that he was the cause of his own disappointment These thoughts preyed upon his mind, and induced a severe fever, which put an end to his existence[1]

Yogandharáyana, being unmoved by these examples, proposed to refer the point to the queen's brother, and he concurring heartily in the project, Rumanwan was compelled to waive his objections With a view, therefore, to effect their purpose, they persuaded Vatsa to set out on a hunting expedition to the district of Lavanika[2], which bordered on Magadha

When Vatsa was about to quit his capital, he was surprised by no ordinary visitor The sage Narada descended from mid heaven, and was received by the prince and princess with every mark of veneration

---

[1] The first part of the story may remind the reader of the events which we have elevated to the dignity of history in the persons of Edgar and Elfrida. Lingard, however, has shewn that the whole is a mere fiction, first told by William of Malmesbury, and borrowed by him from an old ballad

[2] This name is not now to be traced in any maps of that part of the country [It is probably the same as Lavananagara, a place mentioned in an inscription from Chedi See Journ As Soc Bengal, Vol XXX, p 321]

The object of his visit was in fact to prepare the minds of both for the events about to take place, and he announced to Vatsa the approach of temporary affliction, which would end in increased happiness, whilst he foretold to Vasavadattá, that she would be the mother of a prince, who should obtain the sovereignty over the Vidyadharas, or spirits of air Having made these communications to them, he again disappeared

Vatsa now set off upon his hunting excursion, leaving his minister, as usual, to conduct public affairs Yogandharayana lost no time in imparting the scheme to Vasavadatta, who, foregoing, in the prospect of her husband's aggrandizement, all selfish considerations, cheerfully consented to contribute to its success Accordingly the old minister assumed the dress of a Brahman, and Vasavadatta the character of his daughter Vasantaka, fantastically disguised, was the supposed Brahman's disciple, and in this capacity they proceeded to Magadha Rumanwan, left behind, shortly after their departure set fire to the palace, so effectually, that it was half consumed before any assistance could be procured, and he circulated a report, which was generally credited, that the queen had perished in the flames

The party who had proceeded to the capital of Magadha soon contrived to throw themselves in the way of Padmavatí, the young princess She was interested by the appearance of Vasavadattá, and summoned the trio to her presence to ascertain who they were Yogandharayana's story was, that Vasavadattá was his

daughter, and had been deserted by a husband of whom they were now in search, and at his request the princess gladly undertook to take care of the supposed daughter, whilst he was engaged in the pursuit more actively by having safely disposed of her. Vasavadatta being thus provided for, the two ministers, relinquishing their disguises, repaired to Lavanaka to seek Vatsa, and condole with him for his loss.

Upon the first communication of the afflicting news, Vatsa was overcome with grief, and was with some difficulty prevented from laying violent hands upon himself. After his first emotions had subsided, however, he recollected the prophesy of Narada, and observing something rather suspicious in the pretended sorrow of his friends, he felt inclined to conjecture that Vasavadatta was still alive, and in expectation of her re appearance, determined quietly to await the result.

When the news of Vasavadatta's death reached the king of Magadha, he readily availed himself of the opportunity to secure a suitable bridegroom for his daughter, and sent his ambassadors to propose the alliance. Vatsa, conformably to the plan he had laid down for himself, made no difficulty upon Yogandharayana's urging the match, and the young princess had been prepared by Vasavadatta to think of Vatsa with interest and affection. All parties being thus agreed, there was no plea for delay, and Vatsa going from Lavanaka to the capital of Magadha, the marriage was celebrated with due solemnity and pomp.

In a short time Vatsa, having taken leave of his father in law, returned to his own kingdom, his heart still pining for Vasavadattá, and impatient at her protracted disappearance. She in the mean while had been secretly conducted back to Lavánaka, where Vatsa continued to reside, and was concealed in her brother's palace. There at last Vatsa was allowed, as if by chance, to see her. He hastened towards her, but before he could clasp her to his breast, his agitation overcame his faculties, and he fell senseless on the ground. He was recovered by the endearments of his beloved wife and awoke to be conscious that Vasavadattá was once more his. It is unnecessary to describe his happiness. The affection that had before united the two princesses was increased by their affinity, and although the king of Magadha was at first displeased by the trick that had reduced his daughter to the station of a younger wife, yet when he learnt the perfect union which prevailed between her and Vasavadattá, he suppressed his indignation, and cordially rejoiced in the success of the scheme that had given Padmávatí to Vatsa.

History of Vatsa—continued

When a sufficient period had been devoted to domestic enjoyments, the minister Yogandharayana urged his master to undertake the subjugation of the surrounding regions especially those to the east, assigning as reasons for such a preference, that the north was

occupied by barbarians, in the west, the sun and planets were obscured, the south bordered on the domains of the Rakshasas, whilst the east was under the regency of Indra, and was the quarter in which the sun rose, and to which the Ganges flowed The country between the Vindhya and Himala mountains, and that watered by the Jahnaví, was the more excellent, and the progenitors of Vatsa had established themselves along the course of the sacred stream, having held their court at Hastinapura, until Satáníka transferred it to Kausambi

The advice of the minister was highly agreeable to the ambition of the monarch, and Vatsa therefore immediately prepared for his expedition His fathers in law, the kings of Ujjayiní and Magadha, furnished powerful accessions to his force, and Gopálaka, the brother of Vasavadatta, whom Vatsa had made king of Vaideha, and Sinhavarma, the brother of the queen Padmavatí, who held the sovereignty of Chedi*, both accompanied Vatsa with all their troops The friendly chief of the forest tribes likewise joined the army, and the host spread over the country like the mighty clouds that precede the rains the steeds glittered with golden trappings, and the war elephants were decorated with vermilion and flowers The sun was concealed by the dust that canopied the multitude, until scattered by

* [On the site of Chedi near Jubulpore see F E Hall in Journal of the Amer Or Soc, VI 520 ff and in Journ As Soc Bengal XXX 317 334]

the countless banners that agitated the labouring air Vatsa rode a stately elephant, whilst the imperial umbrella waved over his head, like a fierce lion recumbent beneath a tree that spreads its solitary shade upon the summit of a mountain The two queens followed his march, like the personified divinities Victory and Fame

The arms of Vatsa were first directed against Brahmadatta, king of Benares, who finding resistance hopeless hastened to acknowledge submission Hence the conqueror proceeded to the shores of the eastern Sea, where he erected columns commemorative of his triumph[1] He then exacted tribute from Kalinga[2] and Anga, and proceeded westwards to the Mahendra mountains The terrified inhabitants fled to the Vindhyan caves[3], and the forest monarchs promptly prof-

[1] Jaya stambhas, pillars of victory, the erection of which by Indian conquerors is often alluded to by Hindu writers, and explains the character of the solitary columns, which are occasionally met with, as the Lat at Delhi, the pillars at Allahabad, Buddal, &c

[2] Kalinga is usually described as extending from Orissa to Dravida or below Madras, the coast of the northern Sircars It appears, however, sometimes to be the Delta of the Ganges It is familiar to the natives of the eastern Archipelago by the name of Kling and was known to the ancients as the Regio Calingarum Anga is the country along the west bank of the Ganges, including Rajamahal and Bhagalpur [Lassen, Ind Alt, I, 143, 180]

[3] The Vindhya mountains are divided into three parts of which the first, or eastern part, extends from the Bay of Bengal to the source of the Narmada and Sone The western portion extends

fered their submission Thence Vatsa marched to the south, where he crossed the Kaveri, and humbled the pride of the Chola[1] monarch He then subdued the Muralas[2], and fording the sevenfold channel of the Godavari he reduced the Malavas to obedience Having then crossed the Reva, he arrived at Ujjayini, where he remained some time with his father-in-law, the delighted sire of Vasavadatta

After a short interval of repose, Vatsa proceeded to the west, where he overran the province of Láta[3],

---

from thence to the Gulph of Cambay The third or southern, lies on the south of the Narmada and Sone and gives rise to the Tapti and the Vaitarani or Cuttack river The first portion it appears is designated in the text by the term Mahendra Ptolemy has a range called Maiandrus but it lies east of Bengal Wilford supposes the Maiandrus mountains to derive their name from Mayanadri the mountains of the Mayun a people between Chittagong and Aracan It is not impossible however that they bore the appellation of Mahendra and that either Ptolemy or our text or both have mistaken their precise situation

[1] Chola was the sovereignty of the western part of the Peninsula on the Carnatic extending southwards to Tanjore, where it was bounded by the Pandyan kingdom It appears to have been the Regio Soretanum of Ptolemy, and the Chola Mandala or district, furnishes the modern appellation of the Coast Coromandel [Lassen I I I, 166 III 205 ff]

[2] The Muralas are not traceable in classical geography, unless we are allowed to conjecture, that they are the same with the Curula of Ptolemy, a town lying in the direction, where we might expect to meet with the Muralas of the text ['Murala is another name for Kerala now Malabar' F E Hall in Journ Amer Or Soc, VI, 527]

[3] The position of Lata, and its name, which, as written with

as far as to the ocean He next marched towards the north, and compelled the Sindhu[1] prince to acknowledge a superior, triumphing over the Mlechhas and Turushkas, like Rama over the Rakshasas He then proceeded along the frontiers of Persia, after decapitating its king, and turning eastwards, skirted the Himalaya, as far as Kámarupa[2], where he received the submission of the sovereign He then visited the father of his queen Padmavatí at Magadha, and after enjoying the pleasures of his court for a short interval, returned in triumph to Lavanaka

After his return to his capital, Vatsa continued to spend his time in the society of his queens and friends with uninterrupted felicity His only anxiety was now to possess offspring to perpetuate his race, and his wish was soon gratified, the queen Vasavadatta being delivered of a son, who was an incarnation of the god of love, and who, as was announced by Narada, was destined to exercise sovereignty over the spirits of heaven He was named Naravahanadatta At the same period, the king's three ministers and the chamberlain had sons, and these four, with two other youths, the offspring of a Brahman female, a favourite of the

the t, is convertible in the spoken dialects to Lar, identify it with the Larice of Ptolemy [Lassen, Ind Alt, I, 108 III, 170]

[1] Sind, or the country along the Indus, occupied by tribes that came originally perhaps from central Asia, and correctly, therefore, termed Turushkas, or Turks They were the Indo Scythi of the ancients.

[2] The western portion of Asam

queen, were attached to the young prince, to be educated along with him, that they might be his companions in youth, and counsellors in maturity[1].

Story of Naravahanadatta, the Son of Vatsa

Vatsa now devoted his whole attention to the care and education of his only son, in such a manner as to occasion inattention to his public duties. His minister Yogandharayana expostulated with him on this account, and told him, that there was no need of anxiety for one, whom Siva had announced should become the supreme monarch of the Vidyadharas[2], and who was attended unremittingly by an invisible guard. As he said this, a celestial being, wearing a gorgeous diadem, and armed with a scymitar, stood before them. To Vatsa's demands who he was, and what was his purpose, he replied, that he was the king of the Vidyádharas, obliged by the superior power of his enemies to withdraw from his dominions: that he knew the son of Vatsa was destined to be his paramount

[1] We soon after this take leave of Vatsa and his train, and his son and the young men his companions form the leading personages in the narrative.

[2] The Vidyadharas, in Hindu mythology, are the spirits of air. They have a monarch of their own, are of both sexes, travel wherever they list, possess superhuman power, and are of kindly disposition. They are the servants chiefly of Kuvera and Indra, but form part of the state of all the gods, being a sociable race, and excelling in music, the dance, and other lighter accomplishments. They resemble the good genii of the Arabian Nights.

lord, and he was desirous of being the first to do him homage Vatsa felt highly gratified by his confirmation of his son's future elevation, and received Saktivega, (so the king of the Vidyadharas was named,) with every mark of respect In their conversation he enquired how the station of Vidyadhara was to be obtained, to which Saktivega replied, it was the recompense of propitiating the deity Sankara, and in evidence of this assertion narrated his story to Vatsa, and the queen Vasavadatta

Story of Saktivega

In the city of Varddhamana, the ornament of the earth, reigned Paropakari, a pious and benevolent prince He had an only daughter, named Kanakarekha, a princess of surpassing charms, created by Brahmá to humble the conceit of Lakshmí in her beauty As she grew in years, the king became desirous to see her married, but was much at a loss to find a suitor worthy of her hand Nor was this the only cause of perplexity the princess could not endure the idea of becoming a wife, and professed she would rather die than be separated from her parents As they, however, continued to urge the propriety and necessity of her marriage, she at last consented to take for her husband any one of Brahmanical or Kshatriya origin, who should have beheld "The Golden City," and with this the king her father was of necessity contented

The object of Paropakari was now to find some man of exalted rank who had seen this city, but all the princes and nobles of his court declared, they not only had never seen, but had never heard of such a place The king's only resource, therefore, was to appeal to the people, and public proclamation was repeatedly made, that any man of the priestly or military tribe who had beheld "The Golden City" should have the princess for his bride, and be installed in the joint administration of regal authority The proclamations were unavailing no one knew any thing about the 'Golden City"

At last a young Brahman, named Saktideva, who for his idle habits had been expelled his father's house, and who had lost all his money in gambling, considering his situation desperate, and indifferent to the consequences, falsely pretended having sojourned in the Golden City As the king was unable to judge of his veracity, he referred the pretender to his daughter The princess having heard his story, was at no loss to detect the fraud, and ordered Saktideva to be turned out of her presence without any ceremony She then reproved her father for being so credulous, and told him it was his duty, both as a father and a king, to be upon his guard against impostors They were sufficiently numerous, she said, and many were their contrivances, and she related to the king the following story in confirmation of her remarks

Story of Siva and Madhava

In the city of Ratnapura, two rogues, one named Siva, and the other named Madhava, had resided for some time, and had fleeced every inhabitant of the place They thought it high time, therefore, to change the scene of their operations, and selected Ujjayini as the object of their next visitation, particularly as they heard that the king's Brahman, Sankara Swami, was a weak, credulous old man, and immensely rich, with an only daughter exceedingly beautiful Having conceited their scheme, they set out to Ujjayini

Mádhava having collected a respectable train, assumed the character of a Rajput nobleman, and halted with his attendants at a village without the city Siva entered Ujjayini alone, and having found a deserted temple on the banks of the Sipra, he took up his abode in it in the character of a religious ascetic In this capacity he soon attracted notice by the seeming severity of his penance Having well smeared himself with mud, he plunged every day at dawn head foremost into the stream, and remained for a long period under water Rising with the sun, he faced the luminary, as if lost in prayer and meditation Repairing to the temple, he worshipped the deity with flowers, and seated in the positions practised by the tribe of Yogis, appeared wholly occupied with abstract devotion, whilst in fact he was only devising fraudulent projects In the afternoon, clad in the skin of the black deer, and taking his staff and hollow cocoanut, he

traversed the city to gather food in alms Of the rice so collected he made an ostentatious distribution, dividing it into three parts, giving one to the crows, one to any person who chose to take it, and reserving the third for himself At night he remained alone in the temple, for he made light of those places, which people in general avoid The inhabitants of the city, beholding these daily observances, and the life of austerity that Siva led, very soon formed a high opinion of his sanctity, and numbers flocked about the holy man, eager to prostrate themselves at his feet

When Madhava had ascertained by his emissaries the success, that had attended his comrade s imposture, he judged it time to play his part He therefore entered the city and engaged a spacious mansion at some distance from the palace Performing his ablutions in the Sipra, he took the opportunity of renewing his intercourse with his associate by professing to recognize him as a religious man of singular sanctity, whom he had before encountered on his travels, and shewing him accordingly extreme veneration Siva at night repaid his visit, and they ate and drank, and made merry together, and concerted their future measures

On the following morning, Madhava sent a messenger with a present to Sankara Swami, the king s priest, to announce himself as a Rajput of rank, who had just arrived from the Dakhin, and would gladly take service along with his followers with the monarch of Ujjayini He hinted also, that he did not want er

ther the means or inclination to be liberal, in proof of which he sent two pieces of fine cloth for his acceptance The old man fell into the snare, and, blinded by cupidity, promised the stranger his influence with the king This promise, his zeal being stimulated by fresh presents, he speedily performed, and at his recommendation Madhava and his followers were enrolled amongst the prince's retainers The priest carried his attention still further, and in the hope of ultimate advantage, gave the pretended Rájputs accommodation within the precincts of his own stately residence

When Madhava took up his abode in the dwelling of Sankara Swamí, he requested permission to deposit his jewels in the old man's private treasury—a permission readily granted The jewels, which were numerous, and seemed costly, were all artificial, but they were fabricated with great skill and impressed the old priest with the conviction of their being genuine, and of immense value Madhava then, by a course of extreme abstinence, reduced himself to a most meagre condition, and pretending to be dangerously ill, requested Sankara Swamí to bring him some pious Brahman, to whom he might present his property, as he was certain he could not long survive The old man consented, but whilst he hesitated about a choice, one of the attendants, previously prepared, suggested, that they should send for the holy man, who occupied the temple on the banks of the Sipra, and who was held in high repute throughout the city This was Mádha

va's confederate, Siva, who was now to be brought into action Sankara Swamí readily assented, and having his own views in the arrangement, undertook to summon the ascetic himself He accordingly repaired to Siva, and with profound reverence opened the business to him A Rajput of rank, he said, was on the point of death, and was anxious to present him with all his wealth, which in jewels was most valuable, if he would condescend to accept it To this Siva replied, that he pardoned him for making such a proposal, but it was very absurd, to offer transitory and perishable treasures to one, whose whole delights were penance and mortification, and whose sole object was divine knowledge he therefore declined accompanying him to the sick man This affected indifference only served to whet Sankara's zeal, and he expatiated eloquently on the enjoyments of social life as contrasted with ascetic privation, the superiority of the householder in the discharge of his obligations to the gods and to mankind, and the happiness conferred upon the human condition by the possession of wife and children By arguments of this nature Siva suffered himself to be softened, and at last he acknowledged, that he might be induced possibly to resume his connexion with society, if he could meet with a wife in any family sufficiently pure to be affianced with his own Sankara Swamí availed himself instantly of this opening, and proposed his own daughter, if Siva would relinquish to him the wealth he should receive from the Rajput, engaging at the same time to provide hand-

somely for his maintenance With much affected reluctance, Siva at last consented to wed the daughter of the priest, and as to the property, he left that entirely to his father in law's disposal Sankara Swami, internally setting down the ascetic for a fool, and congratulating himself on his own cunning, lost no time in executing the conditions He took Siva with him to his house, and married him to his daughter, and on the third day conducted him to Madhava Madhava received them with every mark of reverence, and requesting the prayers of the pretended saint, presented him with the casket of false jewels Siva having received them, handed them over to his father-in law, professing to be utterly ignorant of their quality or value He then bestowed his benediction on the invalid, and withdrew with the delighted Sankara Swami, now in possession of the prize he had been so anxious to secure

After a short interval Mádhava pretended to recover his health, being restored, he asserted, by the benediction of the Brahman Siva also by degress shewed himself dissatisfied with his situation, and at last expressed his determination to dwell apart from his father in law, claiming at least half the jewels, which had been presented to him Sankara, to appease his clamours, and unwilling to part with any of the jewels, transferred to him all his own personal property, and with this Siva maintained a house and establishment of his own In order to raise money, the priest was now induced to dispose of one of the sup

posed inestimable ornaments When the jewellers examined it, they admired the skill with which it was fabricated, but pronounced it made of crystal and coloured glass, set in brass, and of no value Bewildered with apprehension, Sankara produced the casket, and all its contents proved to be counterfeits like the first He was struck, as if with a thunderbolt, and was some time before he knew where he was, or what had become of him His dream of wealth was at an end, and he found too late that he had been grossly imposed upon

The priest's first thought was to get back his own money from Siva, to whom he repaired, and proposed to give him up the jewels, saying not a syllable of his discovery To this offer, however, Siva replied, that he should have no objection, but that in truth all the money was expended Sankara then applied to the king for redress, and at his suit the confederates were brought up for enquiry When called upon for his defence, Śiva averred, that he had not sought the bargain, and that he had all along professed his entire ignorance of the nature, and cost of the ornaments If they were false, therefore, Sankara could not blame him on that account, as he had taken them entirely on his own proposal and valuation In like manner, Madhava protested his innocence of any intention to defraud Such as the ornaments were, he said, he had inherited them from his father, and he was wholly unacquainted with their real worth In giving them as a free-will offering to a holy man, he could have had

no object in passing off artificial gems as genuine, as he had nothing to gain by the imposition, and that he was free *from all dishonest purposes,* was manifest by his recovering, in consequence of his donation, from a malady which threatened to put a period to his existence. The defence set up by the two rogues was so plausible, that they were immediately acquitted of all fraudulent intention, and Sankara Swami was judged to have deserved the consequences of his own avarice. He was therefore dismissed with the ridicule of the court, and lost his credit, as well as his daughter and his money. Siva and Madhava, on the contrary, were held as innocent and fortunate men, and their knavery was rewarded with the countenance of the king, and the enjoyment of the prosperity they so ill deserved.[1]

---

[1] Part of the fraud, or the substitution of false for real ornaments, is similar to the incident in "Rule a Wife and have a Wife," which procures Perez the title of the Copper Captain, as Estifania says:

> Sir, there's your treasure, sell it to a tinker,
> To mend old kettles.
> Your clothes are parallel to these, all counterfeit;
> *Put these and them on, you're a man of copper.*

and that in secret he was the worshipper of some of the terrific divinities, to whom he made a practice of sacrificing children. The rumour soon gained ground, and it was asserted and generally believed, that a great number of children had recently been lost to their parents, whose disappearance was thus accounted for.

The people of the city now flocking together would have proceeded to the hermitage of Haraswámí to put him to death, but the chief Brahmans, standing in some awe of his character, prevailed upon them to be satisfied with his exile. Messengers were sent to him, therefore, to desire him to leave the neighbourhood without delay. Highly surprised by this command, Haraswámí begged to know how he had incurred such a sentence, and on being informed determined with the courage of conscious innocence to face his accusers. He therefore repaired to the city, and, addressing the people collected on the walls, begged them to listen but for a moment, before they condemned him for ever. Has any one amongst you, continued he, lost his child? The question startled them. Each looked at his fellow and saw himself reproached for precipitation. Many had their children by their sides—others went off to their different homes to ascertain if their children were safe, and in a short time all were obliged to confess that the accusation was wholly unfounded, and that they had unjustly banished the pious man! So easy is it, said the Prince, to affix a stigma on the most spotless characters. You must not expect my child, added Paropakárí, to escape, and should this

happen, should calumny blight your youth, you will be the means of plunging a shaft in your father's heart

When Kanakarekha observed her father thus earnest, she forbore to press the subject, contenting herself with repeating her readiness to marry any one of the priestly or martial tribe, who should behold the Golden city, and with this the king was compelled to be satisfied

Story of Saktivega, continued

In the mean time Saktideva, ashamed of the exposure he had suffered, and deeply enamoured of the princess, determined to discover this unknown city, or perish in the undertaking If he succeeded, he should win the only object for which he now felt life desirable, and if he failed, existence was well sacrificed in such a cause —Resolved therefore to return successful or return no more, Saktideva quitted Varddhamána, and directed his course to the South[1]

After winding his way for some time through the intricacies of the Vindhya forest, he came to a hermitage by the side of a pellucid pool, the residence of a pious ascetic and his disciples having been received with kindness and hospitably entertained by the venerable Sage who had counted a hundred years, Sakti-

[1] The incidents that follow are precisely in the style of the marvellous in the Arabian Nights and many of them will be recognised as occurring in that collection

deva informed him of the object of his journey, and enquired of him, if he knew where the Golden city was to be found The Sage replied, he had never heard of the name, but recommended Saktideva to seek the hermitage of his elder brother[1], who might possibly give him some information, and directed him to the place, three hundred Yojanas remote in the country of Kampilya with this direction Saktideva cheerfully resumed his route

Upon his arrival at the habitation of the elder ascetic, he speedily announced the purport of his visit, with no better success, however, than before The Sage had never heard of the Golden city He recommended Saktideva to visit an Island in the ocean named Utsthala, the Nishada Prince of which would probably know something of the city, if any such place existed, and he directed his visitor how to shape his course for that Island In conformity to the instructions of the Sage, Saktideva, after a wearisome journey, arrived at Vitankapura, a flourishing city on the sea shore Here he found a vessel bound for Utsthala, and took his passage on board

After they had been at sea a few days they encountered a furious storm The lightning shot along the heavens like the forky tongue of fate, and the thunder growled as if a demon roared the wrathful breeze

[1] Thus in the story of Mazin of Khorasan Mazin in his search after the Islands Wak al Wak, is directed by the seven good Genii to one of their Uncles Abd al Kuddary, a venerable old man, who refers him to Abd as Sull b his elder brother

bowing the light, and uprooting the resisting objects, lashed the ocean, and mighty waves as vast as mountains angrily heaved upon the deep The vessel, now tossed to the clouds, and now precipitated into the abyss, was unable to resist the fury of the elements and was rent asunder some of the crew clinging to the broken spars were taken up by other vessels, which were scattered by the gale, but Saktideva who had clung to a plank was cast ashore upon a distant Island It happened, that this was the Island he was bound to, and one of the first persons he encountered on the head, was Satyavrata the king Satyavrata having heard his story expressed great interest in Saktideva's adventure, and, although unable to direct him to the Golden city, undertook to assist him in his search

After a short time, Satyavrata proposed to Saktideva to go to an island at some short distance, where at a particular season of the year now at hand, a solemn festival in honour of an image of Hari was observed on this occasion people from all quarters resorted to the place, and some of them might probably afford information of the Golden city Saktideva readily consented, and they embarked on board a sloop, and set off for the island named Ratnakufa on their way Saktideva observed an object in the middle of the sea, the nature of which he was at a loss to comprehend *It looked like a Ber tree, but in size equalled* a mountain he called Satyavrata to look at it, who immediately exclaimed, they were lost the object they beheld was a vast tree of miraculous growth, rising

from the centre of a whirlpool every thing caught within the gulph inevitably perished, and they had been carried by the current so near it that there was now no chance of escape As he spoke this the ship was whirled within the circling tide, and in an instant was submerged Saktideva, however, exerting all his activity sprang from the deck as they were sinking, and clung to one of the pendulous branches of the tree, from which he ascended, and perched himself securely on a more substantial bough[1] The rest of

---

[1] These incidents offer coincidences of exceeding interest, for they are neither more nor less than Homeric in the same manner as the Ber or Indian Fig rises from the whirlpool, so an immense Wild Fig tree hangs over Charybdis, and Ulysses like Saktideva makes his escape by jumping upon the tree The course of this fable eastward or westward connot now be conjectured, but the specification of the Tree seems to make it of Indian origin The character of the Ber and its spreading and pendulous branches render it appropriate enough in our story, whilst there is no obvious reason why Homer should have availed himself of the Fig any more than of any other tree the following are the passages referred to,

Τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον σκόπελον χθαμαλώτερον ὄψει, Ὀδυσσεῦ,
Πλησίον ἀλλήλων· καί κεν διοϊστεύσειας.
Τῷ δ᾽ ἐν ἐρινεὸς ἔστι μέγας, φύλλοισι τεθηλώς·
Τῷ δ᾽ ὑπὸ δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναῤῥοιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ

Close by a rock of less enormous height
Breaks the wild wave and forms a dangerous streight,
Full on its crown a fig's green branches rise,
And shoot a leafy forest to the Skies
Beneath Charybdis holds her boisterous reign
Midst roaring whirlpools, and absorbs the main

Pope, Odyssey XII, 125 130 (101–4)

the day was spent in this position, and Śaktideva despairing of any chance of being extricated from it, was about to precipitate himself into the gulph below, when a sudden noise interrupted his design. This

---

Παννύχιος φερόμην· ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ ἀνιόντι
Ἦλθον ἐπὶ Σκύλλης σκόπελον, δεινήν τε Χάρυβδιν
Ἡ μὲν ἀνερρόιβδησε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ·
Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὶ μακρὸν ἐρινεὸν ὑψόσ' ἀερθεὶς,
Τῷ προσφὺς ἐχόμην, ὡς νυκτερίς· οὐδέ πη εἶχον
Οὔτε στηρίξαι ποσὶν ἔμπεδον, οὔτ' ἐπιβῆναι
Ῥίζαι γὰρ ἑκὰς ἦσαν, ἀπήωροι δ' ἔσαν ὄζοι,
Μακροί τε, μεγάλοι τε, κατεσκίαον δὲ Χάρυβδιν

All night I drove and at the dawn of day
Fast by the rocks beheld the desperate way
Just when the Sea within her gulfs subsides,
And in the roaring whirlpools rush the tides,
Swift from the float I vaulted with a bound,
The lofty fig tree seized, and clung around,
So to the beam the bat tenacious clings,
And pendant round it clasps his leathern wings
High in the air the tree its boughs displayed,
And on the dungeon cast a dreadful shade

Pope, Odyssey XII, 517-526 (429-36)

The translation is however exceedingly loose here, and the description of the tree in the original is in fact exceedingly applicable to the Banyan tree Ulysses says he could neither find a place to fix his foot nor could he climb upwards, for the roots were far off, and the branches were lofty and long, and large, and hung ever the gulph but to what then did he cling? if he had got hold of a branch at all it might be supposed possible for him to have ascended it If however it was a pendulous or radicating branch, the passage is clear enough Cowper says

"I seized the branches fast of the wild fig"

But the original is merely,

"Sprung upon the tall fig tree"

from the centre of a whirlpool: every thing caught within the gulph inevitably perished, and they had been carried by the current so near it that there was now no chance of escape. As he spoke this the ship was whirled within the circling tide, and in an instant was submerged. Saktideva, however, exerting all his activity sprang from the deck as they were sinking, and clung to one of the pendulous branches of the tree, from which he ascended, and perched himself securely on a more substantial bough.[1] The rest of

[1] These incidents offer coincidences of exceeding interest, for they are neither more nor less than Homeric: in the same manner as the Ber or Indian Fig rises from the whirlpool, so an immense Wild Fig tree hangs over Charybdis, and Ulysses like Saktideva makes his escape by jumping upon the tree. The course of this fable eastward or westward connot now be conjectured, but the specification of the Tree seems to make it of Indian origin. The character of the Ber and its spreading and pendulous branches render it appropriate enough in our story, whilst there is no obvious reason why Homer should have availed himself of the Fig, any more than of any other tree: the following are the passages referred to,

Τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον χθαμαλώτερον ὄψει, Ὀδυσσεῦ,
Πλησίον ἀλλήλων· καί κεν διοϊστεύσειας
Τῷ δ' ἐν ἐρινεὸς ἔστι μέγας, φύλλοισι τεθηλώς
Τῷ δ' ὑπὸ δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναῤῥοιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ

Close by a rock of less enormous height
Breaks the wild wave and forms a dangerous streight,
Full on its crown a fig's green branches rise,
And shoot a leafy forest to the Skies,
Beneath Charybdis holds her boisterous reign
Midst roaring whirlpools, and absorbs the main

Pope, Odyssey XII, 125 130 (101–4)

the day was spent in this position, and Śaktideva despairing of any chance of being extricated from it, was about to precipitate himself into the gulph below, when a sudden noise interrupted his design. This

---

Παννύχιος φερόμην· ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ ἀνιόντι
Ἦλθον ἐπὶ Σκύλλης σκόπελον, δεινήν τε Χάρυβδιν
Ἡ μὲν ἀνεῤῥοίβδησε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ·
Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὶ μακρὸν ἐρινεὸν ὑψόσ' ἀερθείς,
Τῷ προσφὺς ἐχόμην, ὡς νυκτερίς· οὐδέ πη εἶχον
Οὔτε στηρίξαι ποσὶν ἔμπεδον, οὔτ' ἐπιβῆναι
Ῥίζαι γὰρ ἑκὰς ἦσαν, ἀπήωροι δ' ἔσαν ὄζοι,
Μακροί τε, μεγάλοι τε, κατεσκίαον δὲ Χάρυβδιν.

All night I drove and at the dawn of day
Fast by the rocks beheld the desperate way
Just when the Sea within her gulfs subsides,
And in the roaring whirlpools rush the tides,
Swift from the float I vaulted with a bound,
The lofty fig tree seized, and clung around,
So to the beam the bat tenacious clings,
And pendant round it clasps his leathern wings
High in the air the tree its boughs displayed,
And on the dungeon cast a dreadful shade

Pope, Odyssey XII, 517–526 (429–36)

The translation is however exceedingly loose here, and the description of the tree in the original is in fact exceedingly applicable to the Banyan tree Ulysses says he could neither find a place to fix his foot nor could he climb upwards, for the roots were far off, and the branches were *lofty and long, and large*, and hung ever the gulph· but to what then did he cling? if he had got hold of a branch at all it might be supposed possible for him to have ascended it If however it was a pendulous or radicating branch, the passage is clear enough Cowper says.

"I seized the branches fast of the wild fig"

But the original is merely,

"Sprung upon the tall fig tree"

was occasioned by the approach of a flight of birds of enormous size, the progeny of Garuda, the wind of whose wings fanned the ocean into foam. They perched for the night upon the tree, and their presence inspired Saktideva with the hope of deliverance. As morning was about to dawn he gently approached the stoutest of the flock, and threw himself upon the back of the bird. The bird startled from his repose immediately took to his wings, and carried his load rapidly through the air*: at last he made for an island, and nearing the ground allowed Saktideva to cast himself on the grass. Thus the hand of destiny rescued him from death and, being exerted still more wonderfully in his behalf, Fate brought him to the very place he was in search of, the site of the Golden city.

The bird alighting in a garden, Saktideva took the opportunity of sliding from off his back, and safely lodged upon the rich and downy turf. He then rose to survey the place, and observing two damsels gathering flowers, he approached and enquired where he was. To his great joy they replied, the place was named the Golden city, and that it was the residence of Chandraprabhá their mistress, who as well as them selves were of the race of Vidyadharas, and that none but females resided on the island. Saktideva then desired them to lead him to their queen, with which they readily complied. They conducted him to a stately palace, the columns of which were radiant with prec-

* [Arabian Nights Night 77.]

ious gems, and the walks were of beaten gold,—a numerous train of beautiful damsels thronged wondering about the new comer, and having learnt his errand, flew to apprise Chandraprabhá of the arrival of a mortal Brahman at their residence She desired him to be admitted, and rising from her gorgeous throne, upon his entrance, welcomed him with every mark of attention and respect to her court

Having heard the circumstances, which occasioned his visit, she proceeded to communicate her own story to him We are four sisters, she observed, the daughters of the king of the Vidyádharas my three sisters went one day to bathe in the Mandákiní and observing a holy Muni immersed in meditation near the bank, they, giddy with youth, and mirth, disturbed his devotion by sprinkling water upon his holy person Immodest girls, exclaimed the sage, be born of mortal wombs Afterwards, in consideration of my father he announced the termination of the curse to each, and gave them the power of recalling the events of their prior birth they quitted their celestial forms and were born the daughters of men My father, overwhelmed with sorrow for their fate, abandoned his condition, and retired to the forests, leaving to me the uncontrolled sovereignty over this residence and the female train I have expected you, she continued, some time, and on your account have refused the proffered suit of many a Vidyadhara, for the goddess Ambiká appeared to me in my sleep, and announced my espousal with a mortal bridegroom She now fulfills her

prophecy, and brings you hither, where no human means could possibly have procured your access If you will accept my hand, it only remains that I give my father notice of the event, and ask his approbation On the approaching fourteenth of the month, he holds the anniversary of a meeting of the Vidyadhara chiefs on mount Rishabha to offer worship to the God of gods it will be but an absence of two days, and on my return, with his assent, of which there is no doubt, you may receive me as your bride The charms of Chandraprabha were more than sufficient to secure her from Saktideva s rejection, and he awaited in joyful impatience the season that should so richly recompense his toils

When the day of her departure arrived, Chandraprabhá desired Saktideva to consider himself master of the palace, but she recommended to him not to ascend the central terrace, as nothing but evil would be the consequence, and with this caution she quitted him the prohibition only served to whet his curiosity, and he very shortly found himself in the vicinity of the forbidden ground he ascended the terrace, and beheld three doors richly decorated, leading to separate chambers One of these he opened, and entered In the chamber was a bed of gold, and gems, and on it something like a body covered by a sheet of fine cotton having lifted this up, he was struck with horror to behold his first love, the princess Kanakarekhá, a corpse, as he thought, before him, he could scarcely believe that it was not a dream, and although he could

on the marvellous event that had befallen him His father who had long considered him as lost, welcomed his return with rapture, and called his kinsmen to a festival, to celebrate his son's recovery On the day following, the first thing that saluted Śaktideva's ears, was the old proclamation, that whoever had seen the Golden city, should be rewarded with the Princess Consoling himself with the idea, that if he had lost Chandraprabhá he had made sure of the Princess, he hastened to the palace, and announced that he was come to claim her hand The king referred him to her as before She recognised him, and said he was again come with some tale of his own invention, and should be punished as an impostor Whether I am an impostor or not, replied Saktideva, I hope, Princess, you will satisfy my curiosity I have just seen you in the Golden city, lifeless on a couch I find you living here How can this be? He speaks the truth exclaimed the Princess—he has visited the Golden city, and fate reserves him for still greater wonders For me, I resume my own body and my own abode a curse denounced upon me by a holy Sage made me, Gracious king, thy daughter, but in me behold a female of celestial origin, and not of mortal mould The knowledge of my former state accompanied my present being, and hence my reluctance to wed with one of human kind Hence also the condition to which my hand was attached, for the discovery of the Golden city by a man was the period assigned by the Sage to my humiliation It is now terminated and I return

to my former rank." So saying she vanished. The sorrow of the king was excessive for her loss, nor was Śaktideva less affected by this, his second disappointment—collecting his fortitude, however, he determined to follow the Princess, and endeavour to find his way to the Golden city once more

With much fatigue, but little danger, Śaktideva effected his return to the Island of Utsthala, the Princely chief of which had lost his life in endeavouring to promote his success as the whole of the crew perished, the Islanders had never learned his fate, and upon Saktideva's re-appearance amongst them, without his companion, the sons of the chief accused him of having murdered their father Had the latter been engulphed as Saktideva asserted, how happened it, they urged, that he who was in the same vessel could have escaped? They therefore commanded him to be secured, and confined in a temple of Chandi, to whom they determined to sacrifice him a victim on the following morning

Being left thus secured, he addressed himself to the Goddess, and entreated her protection, and his prayers were not in vain The Goddess appeared in his dreams, and told him not to fear, and cheered by her assurances he rose in the morning with all his apprehensions removed At day-break the sister of his persecutors came to the temple to offer her devotion, and was instantly struck by the personal graces of the prisoner. She enquired his story, and being satisfied of his innocence promised, if he would become her

husband, she would intercede with her brothers in his behalf Saktideva was nothing loth, and Vindumati accordingly prevailed on the brethren, influenced also by the power of Chandí, to give trust to their prisoner's protestations of his innocence, and assent not only to his release, but to his marriage with their sister

Some time after their nuptials Vindumatí, having excited his curiosity with respect to her origin, consented only to gratify it upon his taking a vow to do what she should desire him to this with some hesitation he agreed, and she then told him that she was a native of the skies, a Vidyadharí, condemned to assume a mortal form for touching her face with the dry tendon of a cow While thus engaged in conversation, her brothers entered in violent apprehension, and called upon Saktideva to arm, and go forth, for a wild boar was laying waste the lands, and had destroyed a number of persons Saktideva immediately mounted his horse, and went in pursuit of the animal whom he attacked, and wounded the Boar fled, and plunged into a cave into which Saktideva followed him He had gone but a few yards, when the whole scene was changed, and he found himself in a garden adjoining to a palace in the presence of a damsel of exceeding loveliness as soon as he recovered a little from his surprise, he addressed the damsel and enquired who she was She replied that she was a princess, daughter of a King of the south, termed Chandavikrama, that her name was Vindulekhá, and she had been carried off from her father's house by a

Daitya, the owner of the garden, and who, being accustomed to ravage the country in the form of a boar, had that day received a mortal wound from the hand of some gallant chief The princess having communicated her story to Saktideva put similar questions to him, and on his complying with her request, she claimed him as her fated husband, and returned with him to his dwelling, where they were married

Vindumatí became pregnant, and when the eighth month had arrived the first wife of Saktideva reminded him of his vow her demand was that he should put Vindulekha to death, and strangle the babe with his own hands Saktideva stood aghast at this horrible proposal but his wife insisted on the fulfillment of his vow, nay she appealed to the Princess who to the surprise of her husband was equally urgent with him to accomplish the barbarous act These importunities and the weight of his obligation at last prevailed and he perpetrated the act in the same instant the Princess vanished and instead of an unborn babe Saktideva held a Scymitar of more than earthly splendour in his grasp He turned to Vindumatí and she explained the mystery We are all of the Vidyadhara race four sisters, the daughters of their ancient King, condemned to mortal shapes for the offences of our former being, our deliverance was only to be effected by the achievements you have performed one sister you saw at the Golden city, another was the Princess of Varddhamana, I am the third, and the fourth has just disappeared Come, let us to the Golden city

the sword you hold commands a free passage through the air, and you are yourself changed to the condition of a Vidyádhara. So saying she also vanished. Saktideva followed them and, arriving at the Golden city, found the four Vidyadharis assembled awaiting his arrival; they then repaired together to the old king, who welcomed Saktideva as his son-in-law, and consigned to him the sovereignty over the Golden city, changing his name from Saktideva to Saktivega.

Your Majesty is now made acquainted with my story, continued the king of the Vidyádharas, for I was the Brahman in my former existence, and was elevated to the rank I hold by the favour of Sankara. At the time I succeeded to this dignity my father-in-law announced to me that I must be prepared to resign it, upon the birth of the Son of Vatsa, who in due season should obtain the sovereignty over the spirits of air. Our master is now born, and I was anxious to be the first to offer my homage. I have been highly honoured by the permission to behold him, and I now take my departure.

So saying Śaktivega bowed to the young Prince, to Vatsa, and the queens, and vanished from their sight.

III

ON THE MEDICAL AND SURGICAL SCIENCES OF THE HINDUS

From the Oriental Magazine Vol I (Calcutta Febr 1823) p 207—12

The successful cultivation of the healing art by European skill and learning has left us nothing to learn from the Hindus. In the present state of their knowledge, indeed, we have every thing to teach them, but we are not to infer from what we now behold, that they were never better instructed; there is reason to suspect the contrary, and to conclude, from the imperfect opportunities of investigation we possess, that in medicine, as in astronomy, and metaphysics, the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world, and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery, as any people whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable, before anatomy was made known to us by the discoveries of modern enquirers.

It might easily be supposed, that their patient attention, and natural shrewdness, would render the Hindus excellent observers, whilst the extent, and

fertility of their native country would furnish them with many valuable drugs and medicaments.—Their Nidana or Diagnosis, accordingly, appears to define and distinguish symptoms with great accuracy, and their Dravyabhidhana, or Materia Medica, is sufficiently voluminous.—They have also paid great attention to regimen and diet, and have a number of works on the food and general treatment, suited to the complaint or favourable to the operation of the medicine administered. This branch they entitle Pathyapathya. To these subjects are to be added the Chikitsa or medical treatment of diseases—on which subject they have a variety of compositions, containing much absurdity, with much that is of value, and the Ṛasavidya or Pharmacy, in which they are most deficient. All these works however, are of little avail to the present generation, as they are very rarely studied, and still more rarely understood, by any of the practising empirics.

The divisions of the science thus noticed, as existing in books exclude two important branches, without which the whole system must be defective—Anatomy and Surgery. We can easily imagine, that these were not likely to have been much cultivated in Hindustan and that local disadvantages, and religious prejudices, might have formed very serious impediments to their acquirement.—Something of the former might be accidentally picked up by the occasional inspection of bodies either brutal or human, which happened to be exposed but we can scarcely expect dissections of the

latter, amongst the Hindus, when we find that the Greeks themselves did not venture beyond animal subjects, even in the time of Aristotle—In the absence of anatomy, of course, little was to be looked for in surgery, and it has been taken for granted that, whatever might have been the character of medical science, amongst the Hindus in former days, an almost utter ignorance has always prevailed on the subjects most essential to its perfect possession and practical application—These ideas, however, are perhaps partially erroneous, and rest on our own imperfect knowledge of the medical literature of the Hindus

The Hindu compositions on medical subjects, and even their own accounts of them, whether fables or facts, have hitherto scarcely been adverted to by Sanskrit scholars The subject is not of general interest and requires a twofold qualification not likely to be often combined, in the individual who embarks in it—as it is also a matter more of curiosity than utility, there is little inducement to its prosecution At the same time, vulgar errors are always mischievous, and their correction would in some sort repay the labour that should effect so salutary a purpose There are no doubt, amongst the members of the medical profession in India, many competent to the task of giving to the world an accurate view of the Hindu systems, and it is not intended here to anticipate any part of their labours, in the few desultory notices we propose to offer, on the existence and history of Hindu Surgery

The Ayur Veda, as the medical writings of highest

antiquity and authority are collectively called, is considered to be a portion of the fourth or Atharva Veda, and is consequently the work of Brahma—by him it was communicated to Daksha, the Prajapati, and by him the two Aswins*, or sons of Surya, the Sun, were instructed in it, and they then became the medical attendants of the gods—a genealogy, that cannot fail recalling to us the two sons of Esculapius, and their descent from Apollo. Now what were the duties of the Aswins, according to Hindu authorities?—the gods, enjoying eternal youth and health, stood in no need of physicians, and consequently they held no such sinecure station. The wars between the gods and demons, however, and the conflicts amongst the gods themselves, in which wounds might be suffered, although death was not inflicted, required chirurgical aid—and it was this, accordingly, which the two Aswins rendered. They performed many extraordinary cures, as might have been expected from their superhuman character. When Brahma's fifth head was cut off by Rudra, they replaced it—a feat worthy of their exalted rank in the profession to which they belong, and little capable of imitation by their unworthy successors.

The meaning of these legendary absurdities is clear enough, and is conformable to the tenor of all history. Man, in the semi-barbarous state, if not more subject to external injuries than internal disease, was at least more likely to seek remedies for the former, which

* [Lassen Ind Alt I 763 Anhang p xxx II 512]

were obvious to his senses, than to imagine the means of relieving the latter, whose nature he could so little comprehend

Surgical, therefore, preceded medicinal skill; as Celsus has asserted, when commenting on Homer's account of Podalirius and Machaon, who were not consulted, he says, during the plague in the Grecian camp, although regularly employed to extract darts and heal wounds The same position is maintened, as we shall hereafter see, by the Hindu writers, in plain, as well as in legendary language

According to some authorities, the Aswins instructed Indra, and India was the preceptor of Dhanwantari; but others make Atreya, Bharadwája, and Charaka prior to the latter —Charaka's work, which goes by his *name*, is *extant* —Dhanwantari is also styled Kásiraja, prince of Kasí or Benares His disciple was Susruta, the son of Viswamitra, and consequently a contemporary of Rama his work also exists, and is *our chief guide at present It is unquestionably* of some antiquity, but it is not easy to form any conjecture of its real date, except that it cannot have the prodigious age, which Hindu fable assigns it—it is *sufficient* to know, *that* it is perhaps the oldest work on the subject, excepting that of Charaka, which the Hindus possess One commentary on the text, made by Vagbhatta a Cashmirian, is probably as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century, and his comment, it is believed, was preceded by others The work is divided into six portions—the Sutra Sthana, or Chirur-

gical Definitions, the Nidána Sthana, or section on Symptoms, or Diagnosis, Sarira Sthana, anatomy, Chikitsa Sthana, the internal application of Medicines, Kalpa Sthana, Antidotes, Uttara Sthana, or a supplementary section on various local diseases, or affections of the eye, ear, &c —In all these divisions, however, surgery, and not general medicine, is the object of the Sausruta

The Ayur Veda, which originally consisted of one hundred sections, of a thousand stanzas each, was adapted to the limited faculties and life of man by its distribution into eight subdivisions, the enumeration of which conveys to us an accurate idea of the objects of the Ars medendi amongst the Hindus The divisions are thus enumerated—1 Salya 2 Sálakya 3 Káya chikitsa 4 Bhutavidya 5 Kaumarabhritya 6 Agada 7 Rasáyana, and 8 Vajikarana—They are explained as follows

1 Salya is the art of extracting extraneous substances, whether of glass, wood, earth, metal, bone, &c violently or accidentally introduced into the human body, with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced, and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses The word Salya means a dart or arrow, and points clearly to the origin of this branch of Hindu science In like manner the Ἰατρὸς, or physician of the Greeks, was derived, according to Sextus Empiricus, from Ἰὸς, an arrow or dart

2 Salakya is the treatment of external organic af-

fections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c —it is derived from Salaka, which means any thin and sharp instrument, and is either applicable in the same manner as Salya to the active causes of the morbid state, or it is borrowed from the generic name of the slender probes and needles used in operations on the parts affected

3 Kaya Chikitsa is, as the name implies, the application of the Ars medendi (Chikitsá) to the body in general (Kaya), and forms what we mean by the Science of Medicine—the two preceding divisions constitute the Surgery of modern schools

4 Bhutavidya is the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state induced by Demoniacal possession This art has vanished before the diffusion of knowledge, but it formed a very important branch of medical practice, through all the schools, Greek, Arabic, or European, and descended to days very near our own, as a reference to Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy may prove to general readers

5 Kaumára bhritya means the care of infancy, comprehending not only the management of children from their birth, but the treatment of irregular lactic secretion, and puerperal disorders in mothers and nurses—this holds with us also the place that its importance claims

6 Agada is the administration of antidotes—a subject which, as far as it rests upon scientific principles, is blended with our medicine and surgery

7 Rásayana is chemistry, or more correctly alche-

my, as the chief end of the chemical combinations it describes, and which are mostly metallurgic, is the discovery of the universal medicine—the elixir that was to render health permanent, and life perpetual

8 The last branch, Vájíkarana, professes to promote the increase of the human race—an illusory research, which, as well as the preceding, is not without its parallel in ancient, and modern times

We have, therefore, included in these branches, all the real and fanciful pursuits of physicians of every time and place Susruta, however, confines his own work to the classes Salya and Salakya, or Surgery, although, by an arrangement not uncommon with our own writers, he introduces occasionally the treatment of general diseases, and the management of women and children, when discussing those topics to which they bear relation Pure Surgery, however, is his aim, and it is the particular recommendation of Dhanwantari—Salya being, he declares expressly, "the first and best of the medical sciences, less liable, than any other, to the fallacies of conjectural and inferential practice, pure in itself, perpetual in its applicability, the worthy produce of heaven, and certain source of fame"

From these premises we may be satisfied, that Surgery was once extensively cultivated, and highly esteemed by the Hindus Its rational principles and scientific practice are, however, now, it may be admitted, wholly unknown to them—what they formerly were, we may perhaps take some future opportunity of specifying

IV.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MAHABHARATA,

prefixed to Prof F Johnson's 'Selections from the Mahabharata London 1842,

and

TRANSLATION OF THREE EXTRACTS,

originally published in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine

The Mahábharata and Ramayana were designated by Sir William Jones the two epic poems of the Hindus The appropriateness of the epithet has been denied by some of those ultra-admirers of Virgil and Homer, who will allow the dignity of the Epos to be claimed by none but the objects of their idolatry and, in the restricted sense in which a poem is entitled epic, agreeably to the definition of Aristotle, it may indeed be matter of question, if the term be strictly applicable to the Hindu Poems Although, however, it might not be impossible to vindicate their pretensions to such a title, yet it is not worth while to defend them It matters little what they are called, and they will not lose their value, as interesting narratives of important

events, as storehouses of historical traditions and mythological legends, as records of the ancient social and political condition of India, and as pictures of national manners, if, instead of epic, they be denominated heroic poems

The Mahábharata, then, is a heroic poem in eighteen "Parvas", Cantos or Books, which are said to contain 100,000 "slokas" or stanzas The printed edition contains 107,389 slokas, but this comprises the supplement called Hari vansa, the stanzas of which are 16,374, and which is certainly not a part of the original Mahabharata There is reason to believe that the primary authentic poem was of a still more limited extent than it would reach even after the deduction, for it is said, in the first book, that, exclusive of its episodes the poem consisted of 24,000 slokas Some of the episodes are equivocal additions, others spring naturally out of the business of the story, and many of them are, no doubt, of considerable antiquity

The author of the poem is said to be Krishna Dwaipáyana, the "Vyasa" or arranger of the Vedas, and the actual father of the two princes Páńdu and Dhritarashťra, whose progeny are the principal characters of the fable He taught the work to his pupil Vaisampáyana, who recited it at a great sacrifice celebrated by Janamejaya, the great grandson of Arjuna, one of the heroes of the poem As we have it, it is said to have been repeated by Sauti the son of Lomaharshana to the Rishis, or sages, assembled on occasion of a religious solemnity in the Naimisha Forest

The subject of the *Mahabhárata* is a war for regal supremacy in India, between the sons of two brothers, Pándu and Dhritaráshtra. The sons of the former were five in number, Yudhishthira, Bhíma, and Arjuna, by one of his wives, Pritha; and Nakula and Sahadeva by his other wife, Madrí. Dhritaráshtra had as numerous a family as King Priam: but they were all sons, with the addition of a single daughter. Of the hundred sons, Duryodhana was the eldest, and the foremost in hate and hostility to his cousins.

Although the elder of the two princes, Pándu, "the Pale" (as the name denotes), was rendered by his pallor (which may be suspected of intimating a leprous taint) incapable of succession. He was obliged therefore, to relinquish his claim to his brother, and retired to the Himalaya mountains, where his sons were born, and where he died. Upon his death, his sons, yet in their boyhood, were brought to Hastinapura by the religious associates of Pandu's exile, and were introduced to *Dhritaráshtra as his nephews.* *Some doubts* were at first expressed of the genuineness of their birth; and, in truth, they were the sons of Pandu only by courtesy, being the children of his wives by sundry divinities. Thus Yudhishthira was *the son of* Dharma, the god of justice, the Hindu Pluto. Bhíma, of Váyu, or god of the wind, the Indian Aeolus. Arjuna was the *son of Indra, the god of the firmament, Jupiter* Tonans. and Nakula and Sahadeva were the sons of two personages peculiar to Hindu mythology, their Dioscuri, twin-sons of the Sun, the Aswiní-Kumáras.

As, however, Páńdu had acknowledged these princes as his own, the objection to their birth was overruled by his example, and the boys were taken under the guardianship of their uncle, and educated along with his sons

The principal performers in the Mahabharata are distinctively and consistently characterized The sons of Páńdu with the exception of Bhíma, are represented as moderate generous, and just and Bhíma is not ungenerous, although somewhat of a choleric temperament, and of overweening confidence in his herculean strength The sons of Dhritarashtra are described as envious, arrogant, and malignant and this contrast of character enhances, even in boyhood, the feelings of animosity which the consciousness of incompatible inheritance has inspired

The genealogial descent of the two families, the circumstances of the birth and education of the princes, their juvenile emulation and enmity, and the adventures of the Páńdavas when they attain adolescence, are narrated in the "Adi Parva or First Book From this book, the first of the following selections, the Passage of Arms at Hastinapura, is extracted as illustrative of the spirit of rivalry which animated the young princes, and of some of the ancient usages of the Hindus Subsequently to the transactions there described, the practices of the sons of Dhritarashtra against the lives of the Pandavas become still more malevolent and they privily set fire to the house in which Pritha and her sons reside As the Páu

davas had been warned of the intention of their enemies, they eluded it, and escaped by a subterranean passage, leaving it to be reported and believed that they had perished in the flames of their dwelling They secrete themselves in the forests, and adopt the garb and mode of life of Brahmans It is during this period that they hear of the 'Swayamvara", a rite familiar to the readers of Nala, the choice of a husband by a princess from the midst of congregated suitors, of Draupadí, daughter of Drupada, King of the upper part of the Doab, and they repair to his court, and win the lady The circumstances of this exploit, and its immediate consequences, form the subject of the second of the following Selections

The existence of the sons of Pandu having become generally known by the occurrences at the Swayamvara of Draupadí, King Dhritarashtra was prevailed upon by his ministers to send for them, and to divide his sovereignty equally between them and his sons The partition was accordingly made Yudhishthira and his brethren reigned over a district on the Jamna, at their capital Indraprastha, and Duryodhana, with his brethren, were the Rajas of Hastinapura on the Ganges The ruins of the latter city, it is said, are still to be traced on the banks of the Ganges*, whilst a part of the city of Delhi is still known by the name of Indraprastha** The contiguity of these two cities, and

* [Lassen Ind Alt I 1 G]
** [Journal Asiatique Vol XV (1860) 511 ff]

consequently of the principalities of which they were respectively the capitals, necessarily suggests the inference, that in the days of the Mahábhárata, as well as in later times, India was parcelled out amongst a number of petty independent sovereigns. This inference becomes certainty from the valuable specification which the poem contains of the very many Rájas who took part in the struggle in favour of one or other of the contending houses. This state of things, however, was not irreconcilable with the nominal supremacy of some one paramount lord and after the partition of the kingdom of Hastinapura, a fresh source of envy and hatred springs up in the minds of the sons of Dhritaráshtra, from the pretensions of Yudhishthira to celebrate the "Rajasuya" solemnity—a sacrifice, at which princes officiate in menial capacities, and make presents in acknowledgment of submission. This forms the topic of the "Sabhá Parva", the Second Book of the Poem.

The claims of Yudhishthira to universal homage are preceded by the subjugation of the Powers of India by himself and his brothers. These conquests are merely predatory incursions, and are characteristic of the mode of warfare practised in India even in our own days in which the object of the Mahrattas, as of the Moguls before them, was commonly nominal submission, and the payment of tribute, varying in amount, according to the power of the superior to exact it, rather than the actual annexation of territory to their

dominions Sháh Alem was titular sovereign of India and the coins were everywhere struck in his name, even after he was a captive in the hands of Sindhia, and a pensioner in those of the British Government It does not follow, therefore, from the existence of a number of petty cotemporary princes, that there never was one, nominally at least, supreme monarch, nor *is there the least incompatibility*, in Indian history, between a sovereign ostensibly paramount, and numerous princes virtually independent The notices of the countries subdued by the Pandava princes, and the articles brought as tribute by the subjugated nations, furnish in this chapter much valuable and curious elucidation of the ancient civil and political circumstances and divisions of India

Amongst the gaieties of the occasion, the sight of which embitters the animosity of the sons of Dhritarashtra, a diversion is insidiously proposed by them, which is the mainspring of all the subsequent mischief The inveterate passion for play by which the early Hindus were inspired, as we learn from various parts of the Mahabharata, as well as from other authorities is a remarkable feature in the old national character It is far from entirely obliterated, and it is as strong as ever amongst some others of the Eastern people as the Malays, for instance, who, when they have lost every thing they possess, stake their families and themselves So, in the gambling which ensues in the Mahábhárata, at what appears to be a kind of backgammon, where pieces are moved according to the

cast of the dice, Yudhishṭhira loses to Duryodhana his palace, his wealth, his kingdom, his wife, his brothers, and himself Their liberty and possessions are restored by the interference of the old king Dhritaráshṭra but Yudhishṭhira is again tempted to play, conditioning, that if he loses, he and his brothers shall pass twelve years in the forests, and shall spend the thirteenth year incognito If discovered before the expiration of the year, they are to renew the whole term of their exile He loses and, with Draupadí and his brethren, goes into banishment, and lives the life of a forester A description of the forest life of the Páṇḍavas constitutes the topic of the Third Book, the "Vana Parva" Many episodes occur in this book one of which is the story of Nala, which is recited to teach Yudhishthira and his brethren resignation and hope Another is the attempt of Jayadratha to carry off Draupadi by force which is the third of the following Selections

At the expiration of the twelfth year, the Páṇḍavas enter the service of King Virata in different disguises Their adventures are described in the "Viráta Parva", the Fourth Book They acquire the esteem of the King, and when they make themselves known to him at the end of the thirteenth year, obtain his alliance to avenge their wrongs and vindicate their right of sovereignty

The Fifth Book, the "Udyoga Parva", represents the preparations of the two parties for war, and enumerates the princes who enter into alliance with them Amongst these is Krishna, the ruler of Dwáraka, and

an incarnation of Vishnu He is related by birth to both families, and professes a reluctance to join either, but prescient of what is to happen, he proposes to Duryodhana the choice between his individual aid and the co-operation of an immense army Duryodhana unwisely prefers the latter, and Krishna, himself more than a host, becomes the ally of the Pándavas, the charioteer of his especial friend and favourite Arjuna, and the principal instrument of the triumph of his allies

The four following Books are devoted to descriptive details of the battles which take place Some of these are very Homeric, but, in general, the interest of the narrative is injured by repetition, and the battles are spoiled by the introduction of supernatural weapons, which leave little credit to the hero who vanquishes by their employment The armies of Duryodhana are commanded in succession by Bhíshma his great-uncle, Drona his military preceptor, Karna the King of Anga, his friend, and Salya the King of Madra, his ally and the description of their operations is contained in as many Parvas, named after them "Drona-Parva" &c These chiefs, and many others, are slain at the close of their commands, and in the Ninth or "Salya-Parva", Duryodhana himself is killed by Bhíma in single combat with maces, in the use of which weapon they are both represented as excelling A few of the surviving chiefs on the side of Duryodhana attempt to avenge the destruction of their friends by a night attack on the camp of the Pándavas, as narrated in the Tenth,

or "Sauptika Parva" The attack is repelled chiefly by the metily assistance of Krishna

A short Book, "the Stri Parva", describes the grief and lamentations of the women of either party over the slain, and the sorrow and anger of the old king Dhritarashtra Yudhishthira himself gives way to poignant regret for what has passed and the next Book, the 'Santi Parva" or "Chapter of Consolation", details, with more than sufficient diffuseness, the duties of kings the efficacy of liberality, and the means of obtaining final emancipation from existence Hence the sections of this Parva are entitled "Rája-dharma", "Dana dharma', and "Moksha dharma" Parvas, or more properly "Upaparvas", minor cantos The Thirteenth Book, the "Anusásana Parva", is a long and prolix series of discourses upon the duties of society, as communicated by Bhíshma, whilst about to die, to Yudhishthira In this, as well as in the sections of the 'Sánti Parva", the didactic portions are enlivened by appropriate tales and fables each of the Books contains many sound doctrines and interesting illustrations, although both are somewhat misplaced in a narrative heroic poem

The remaining Books of the Mahábharata, although more or less episodical, are in better keeping with the story They are also short, and hasten to the catastrophe The Fourteenth or "Aswamedhika Parva" describes the celebration of the "Aswamedha" rite—the sacrifice of a horse, by Yudhishthira, in proof of his supremacy In the Fifteenth Book, the "Asrama

Parva", King Dhritarashtra, with his queen Gandhárí and his ministers, retires to a hermitage, and obtains felicity or dies The Sixteenth or "Mausala Parva" narrates the destruction of the whole Yadava race, the death of Krishna, who was one of the tribe, and the submersion of his capital Dwaraká by the ocean The Seventeenth Book, called the "Maháprasthánika" or "Great journey", witnesses the abdication of his hardly-won throne by Yudhishthira, and the departure of himself, his brothers, and Draupadí, to the Himálaya, on their way to the holy mountain Meru As they proceed, the influence of former evil deeds proves fatal, and each in succession drops dead by the way-side until Yudhishthira, and a dog that had followed them from Hástinapura, are the only survivors Indra comes to convey the prince to Swarga or Indra's heaven, but Yudhishthira refuses to go thither unless

> admitted to that equal sky
> His faithful dog shall bear him company,

and Indra is obliged to comply

The Eighteenth Book, the 'Swargarohana', introduces Yudhishthira in his bodily form to heaven To his great dismay, he finds there Duryodhana and the other sons of Dhritaráshtra, but sees none of his own friends, his brothers, or Draupadí He demands to know where they are, and refuses to stay in Swarga without them A messenger of the gods is sent to shew him where his friends are, and leads him to the "fauces graveolentis Averni", where he encounters all sorts of disgusting and terrific objects His first impression is,

to turn back, but he is arrested by the wailings of well remembered voices, imploring him to remain, as his presence has already alleviated their tortures He overcomes his repugnance, and resolves to share the fate of his friends in hell, rather than abide with their enemies in heaven This is his crowning trial The gods come and applaud his disinterested virtue All the horrors that had formerly beset his path vanish, and his friends and kindred are raised along with him to Swarga where they become again the celestial personages that they originally were, and which they had ceased to be for a season, in order to descend along with Krishna in human forms amongst mankind, and co operate with him in relieving the world from the tyranny of those evil beings, who were oppressing the virtuous and propagating impiety, in the characters of Duryodhana his brothers and their allies

The Hari vansa is a sort of Supplement to the Mahabharata It professes to give an account of the genealogy of Hari or Vishnu, in the character of Krishna, but adds to it genealogical details, the narrative of Krishna's exploits, and a variety of legends and tales tending to recommend the worship of the demi god The internal evidence is strongly indicative of a date considerably subsequent to that of the major portion of the Mahabharata It has been translated into French by M Langlois and the translation has been published by the Oriental Translation Committee

The text of the Mahabharata has been printed at Calcutta in four quarto volumes The work was com-

menced by the Committee of Public Instruction, and completed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

The great extent of the work, and the tediousness of much of its contents preclude the prospect of its ever being translated throughout though as a monument of Hindu antiquity, it merits entire translation Although, however we can scarcely expect a translation of the whole yet very many portions of it well deserve to be rendered into some of the languages of Europe Something of translation in detail has already been effected The late Sir Charles Wilkins led the way by his translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, which is an episode of the 'Bhishma Parva' Part of the opening of the first 'Parva' rendered into English it is believed by Sir C Wilkins is published in the Annals of Oriental Literature Professor Bopp has also published the 'Nalus' the 'Diluvium' the Journey of Arjuna the Story of Savitri and the Rape of Draupadi with translations in Latin and German, and the first of these has assumed an English garb from the distinguished pen of the Rev H Milman in which surpassing grace of style is combined with extraordinary faithfulness both to the letter, and the spirit of the original poem As contributing to elucidate the ancient geography of India, a portion containing the enumeration of a variety of countries has been translated and illustrated by the writer, and incorporated in the pages of the Vishnu Purana and the illustration of ancient India, derivable from the Mahabharata is in course of very careful and learned [illegible]

by Professor Lassen of Bonn, in a series of valuable dissertations published *in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* By these means, the merits, both poetical and historical, of the Mahabharata are becoming more extensively known but in the amplitude of its extent, in the numerous traditions, legends and tales which it contains, and in its many didactic and philosophical passages, it offers an accumulation of materials adapted to different tastes, and auxiliary *to diverging researches*, which must long advantageously engage the attention, and reward the industry, of Sanskrit scholars

---

From the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Vol II (Dec 1824) , 249–57.

FIRST DAY'S BATTLE

[Book VII, c 14–16]

The Kuru[1] host entrusted to his care,

---

[1] Kuru, it is usually supposed, is the prince who gives the designation to Duryodhana and his brothers, thence called Kauravas, in opposition to their cousins, the sons of Pandu, termed Pandavas, Kuru being a remote ancestor of both The Mahabharata, however, gives a different account, and derives the term Kaurava *from the country*, Kuru jangala, or Kurukshetra [Lassen, Ind Alt I 59"] which was subject to the family of Duryodhana the upper part of the Panjab beyond Dehli, or Panniput, which is still commonly called by the Hindus Kurukhetr — Kuru, the prince was descended from Nahusha the great grandson of Soma

The son of Bharadwaja[1] marshals, first
The chiefs[2] of Sindhu, and Kalinga's[3] king,
With the young prince Vikarna[4] on the right
He stations, by Gándhara's[5] martial chivalry,

---

or the moon, by his grandson Puru The thirteenth descendant, of Kuru was Santanu, who had four sons, Bhishma, Chitrangada, Vichitravirya, and Vyasa Of these, Bhishma and Vyasa lived unmarried, and Chitrangada and Vichitravirya both died without offspring on which, to prevent the extinction of the family, and conformably to the ancient Hindu law, Vyasa begot offspring on his brother s widows The sons were Dhritarashtra and Pandu Dhritarashtra had a hundred sons by Gandhari, the princess of Gandhara, of whom Duryodhana was the eldest Pandu had five sons, the celebrated princes Yudhishthira, Bhima or Bhimasena, Arjuna and the twin brothers Nakula and Sahadeva. Of these the first was remarkable for his piety and integrity, the second for his gigantic bulk and strength Arjuna was eminent for his valour, and was the particular friend of Krishna

[1] Drona was the son of Bharadwaja, the son of Vrihaspati, or Jupiter He learnt the use of arms from Parasu Rama and taught both the Kaurava and Pandava princes With the aid of his pupils he made war upon his ancient friend Drupada king of Panchala carried his capital, and compelled him to give up part of his kingdom, including the city of Ahichhatra, possibly the same as the Oxydracæ of Arrian [Ahichhatra is, more correctly, identified by V de S Martin (Etude sur la géographie grecque et latine de l'Inde p ... f) with the Adisdara of Ptolemy, where as the Kshudrakas correspond to the Oxydracæ of Arrian] The alliance that was subsequently formed between Drupada and the Pándavas sufficiently accounts for Drona's being found in the Kuru ranks

[2] The Indus, or country along the river Sind

[3] Kling the northern portion of the Coromandel coast

[4] One of the youngest of the Kaurava princes

[5] The Gandharas are the Gandari of the ancients, the people

With glittering lances armed, and led by Śakuni,
Their sovereign's son, supported On his left
Duhsasana[1] and other chiefs of fame
Commanded the array around them rode
Kamboja's[2] horse, Sakas[3] and Yavanas[4],
On rapid coursers, mighty in the field
The nations of the north, and east, and south[5],
Composed his main battalia in the rear
Secure the monarch[6] marched whilst in the van
The gallant Karna led his faithful bands,

---

of part of Afghanistan and Kandahar of modern times Their leader Sakuni was the brother of Gandhari, the mother of Duryodhana [Vivien de St Martin I I, p 364–96 Lassen, II 14?]

[1] Another of Duryodhana's brothers He was the object of the particular hatred of the Pandavas, having offered an insult to their common bride Draupadi, dragging her by the hair of her head into the public assembly To avenge this wrong, Bhima vowed the death of Duhsasana, and that he would drink his blood —a vow he at last accomplished

[2] The horse of Kamboja are the troops of Khorasan, Balkh and Bokhara. [Vishnu Pur p 191 Lassen, I 439]

[3] The Sakas are the Sakai, or Sacæ of the ancients, some of the Scythian that is, the Nomadic races of Turkestan and Tartary

[4] The Yavanas, it is generally supposed, must mean the Greeks of Bactria It is usually applied now to the Mohammedans, but no satisfactory account can be given of its meaning in such application, and there is no great reason to question its derivation from Ionia as proposed by Sir William Jones The Hindus have a distinct name for the Persians [Vishnu Pur, p 194 Lassen I, 861 f]

[5] These are named in the original the people of Trigartta, the Ambashthas, Malavas, Sivis, Sauviras, Surasenas, Sudras &c Several of them are traceable in classical geography

[6] Duryodhana the eldest son of Dhritaráshtra

[7] Karna was the half brother of the Pandavas being the son

Exulting in their sovereign's stately stature,
High raised upon his elephant of war,
And gorgeous shining as the rising sun
His warriors deemed the gods themselves were weak,
With Indra at their head, to stem his prowess,
And each to each their thoughts revealed, they moved,
Secure of victory, to meet the foe

The sons of Pandu marked the coming storm,
And swift arrayed their force The chief divine[1]
And Dhananjaya[2], at the king's request,
Raised in the van the ape-emblazoned banner[3],

---

of Pritha the princess of Surasena before her marriage to Pandu by the Sun this lady being presented by the saint Durvasas with a charm by which she could compel any god she pleased to her embraces—a power she did not suffer to lie idle Afraid of discovery Pritha cast the infant into the Jamna, where he was found by Radha, the wife of Satananda, the charioteer of Dhritarashtra The king adopted the boy and brought him up with his own sons, and subsequently Duryodhana gave him the kingdom of Anga, and after Kansa's death that of Mathura Karna therefore adheres to his adoptive in preference to his natural brothers He is one of the most distinguished amongst the Kuru champions Although placed in the van no particular mention is here made of his exploits probably because the poet has dedicated to them an entire canto, the next called the Karna Parva Karna is killed by Arjuna

[1] Krishna, who acted as the companion and charioteer of Arjuna

[2] A name of Arjuna the third of the Pandava princes, "the conqueror of wealth

[3] Arjuna's banner bore a figure of Hanuman Having propitiated that monkey demigod, he was desired to ask a boon, on which he solicited Hanuman's personal aid in battle He was told

The host's conducting star, the guiding light
That cheered the bravest heart, and as it swept
The air, it warmed each breast with martial fires
Before the ranks the prince impelled his car,
By Vasudeva, of created things[1]
Supremest, driven, and as he sternly grasped
His massy bow Gándíva[2], he appeared
The formidable minister of fate

Now as on either hand the hosts advanced,
A sudden tumult filled the sky earth shook
Chafed by wild winds, the sands upcurled to heaven,
And spread a veil before the sun Blood fell
In showers, shrill screaming kites and vultures winged
The darkling air, whilst howling jackals hung
Around the march, impatient for their meal,
And ever and anon the thunder roared,
And angry lightnings flashed across the gloom,
Or blazing meteors fearful shot to earth

Regardless of these awful signs, the chiefs
Pressed on to mutual slaughter, and the peal
Of shouting hosts commingling shook the world

---

to mount the monkey's figure on his banner, which would answer as well

[1] The best of all things that have been, Sreshtha Bhutanam or the best of all elementary things In either case however the expression is not equivalent to the assertion of a divine nature Vasudeva is the patronymic of Krishna

[2] Gandiva is the name of Arjuna's bow, the Hindu writers like our bards of chivalry, giving appellations to the favourite weapons of their chief heroes

Contending warriors, emulous for victory,
And great in arms, wielded the sharp-edged sword,
And hurled the javelin, frequent flew the dart,
And countless arrows canopied the combat
Against the leader of the Kuru force
The Pandu chiefs their clustering cohorts urged,
But soon the bands were broken by his prowess,
Like clouds that scattering fly before the gale.
Next felt the force of Srinjaya his might,
And shrunk from his encounter, like the Titans
From Indra's valour To their succour came
Panchala's sons, by Dhrishtadyumna[1] led
A momentary check the veteran troops
That followed Drona from the shock sustained,
But soon his skill the cohorts re-arrayed,
Revived their hopes, and roused them to redeem
Their fame The foe in turn arrested paused,
And fled in fear, like deer before the lion
The victors chased, and circling in pursuit
As in a fiery circle, hemmed them round
Before the rest rode Drona on his car,
By art immortal framed—the banners stood
Unwaving as they rapid met the breeze,

[1] Dhrishtadyumna is the brother of Draupadi the son of Drupada, king of Panchala, which appears to designate a country between Dehli and the Panjab but descending to the south as low as to Marwar, or Ajmir, being bounded in that direction, if the author of the Mahabharata is not mistaken, by the Charmanvati, or Chumbul [Lassen I, 601]

Swift plunged the bounding steeds amidst the throng,
And terror hovered o'er the warrior's course

When Yudhishthira[1] marked the fearful rout,
And broken cars, and elephants, and steeds,
And men, that strewed the sanguinary plain,
He called his brother Arjuna to lead
His choicest squadrons to restore the day
The generous youth obeyed him followed fast
The five brave brothers of Kaikeya's realm,
Sikhandi[2], Dhrishtadyumna, and the son
Of fair Subhadra[3] next came mighty Bhima[4],
Ghatotkacha[5] his son, half fiendish born,

---

[1] Yudhishthira the firm in war the eldest of the Pandava princes he is also called Dharmaraja the pious prince Dharma putra, the son of Dharma

[2] Kaikeya a country and a prince so named The monarch's five sons assisted the Pandavas, as he was also the father in law of Krishna His name in the Bhagavata [IX 24 3] occurs Dhrishtaketu

[3] Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna by Subhadra, the sister of Krishna.

[4] Bhima, or Bhimasena the third of the Pandava princes In his youth he was carried to Patala the subterrene habitation of the serpent demigods and was given a beverage which conferred upon him enormous and gigantic strength

[5] Ghatotkacha was the son of Bhima by a Rakshasi, or female fiend Hidimba whose brother he slew The scene of these transactions was on the east of the Ganges and the Rakshasi may therefore mean a princess of some of the bordering tribes east of Hindustan, or between Bhote and Ava, all of whom, eating meat and following other impure practices, might well be considered Rakshasas, or 'cannibals, by the Hindus Heramba is in

The sons of Drupada, and Dhrishtaketu[1],
And Chekitana[2], and the martial[3] twins,
And the brave monarch[4] of the Pandu race
These all, and more, came flocking to the fight
Such were their deeds, as their high birth became,
And name in arms, and Bharadhwája's son
Was stopped in his career Awhile he paused—
Rose in his car—he cast his eyes around,
Glowing with rage, then furious rushed amidst
The adverse host, as bursts the roaring gale
Amongst the vollied clouds, and over men,
And steeds, and cars he forced his headlong way,
Borne by his coursers, rapid as the breeze,
And stained a red still ruddier than their own,
As wading onwards midst the plashy gore
Forgot his years, the veteran chieftain, fired
With rage, the energy of youth resumed
Amidst the Pandu ranks he smote resistless,
And many a headless corse, and mangled limb,

---

fact applied geographically to designate the western portion of Asam Ghatotkacha was slain by Karna See the passage descriptive of his death As Res Vol XIII p 170 [Lassen I 663 III 471]

[1] Dhrishtaketu here is probably the son of Dhrishtadyumna and a prince of Panchala He commanded, however, the troops of Chedi, or Chandail, and Malwa.

[2] Chekitana was a king but of what part of India we are not apprized

[3] Nakula and Sahadeva, the two youngest of the Pandavas the sons of Pandu's second wife, Madri, by the Aswini Kumaras

[4] Yudhishthira

And car deserted, marked the warrior's path
Fast flew his arrows with unerring aim,
And heaven loud echoed to his rattling bow
The soil was soddened with the crimson stream
Of the vast numbers, men, and steeds, and elephants,
Whom Drona's shafts to Yama's halls consigned

And Yudhishthira feared His fears observed
His noble brother Arjuna he soothed
The monarch's terror, and with solemn vow
Plighted his faith to brave the arm of Drona,
And fall or triumph—to his vow the drums,
And trumpets, and hoarse sounding shells replied
The animating notes recalled the chiefs
Who shrunk from conflict, and the shouting throng,
Rending heaven's concave with their clamours, rushed
Again to face the perils of the war

Collected thus the Pándavas opposed
The veteran chief, whilst to his aid there came
The noblest of the Kuru bands first Sakuni
Against the youthful Sahadeva aimed
His shafts, and levelled prostrate on the plain
His charioteer and banner—nor unscathed
Launched he his arrows, in the shock his steeds
And car were crushed, and from his hand the bow
Was wrested On the ground he foaming sprang,
And whirled on high his ponderous mace—on foot
The warriors, like two towering mountains, met
The shafts of Drona fierce Panchála's king
Struck from his chariot Bhíma hurled his darts

Impetuous on Vivimsati[1] unbowed
The hero stood, and all the warriors praised
The strength that foiled the giant Furious, Bhíma
Dashed with his club the coursers to the earth,
Composed the prince leapt forth, and either chief,
Like a wild elephant, defied his foe
Then Salya[2], as in sportive mood, transfixed
The banner and the charioteer of Nakula
An iron dart, by Sátyaki[3] propelled,
Gored Kritavarma's[4] breast—he of the wound
Regardless, on the son of Sini hurled
His frequent shafts High on a stately car
Swift borne by generous coursers to the fight,
The vaunting son of Puru[5] proudly drove,

---

[1] One of the sons of Dhritarashtra brother of Duryodhana

[2] Salya was king of Madra a country on the north west confines of India apparently about Ghizni and Gor, and the site of the ancient Mardi, who were well known to classical writers as a warlike and savage race Buchanan apparently has strangely erred in placing this country in Bhotan

[3] The son of Satyaka a prince of the lunar line and of the house of Yadu, apparently the same with Yuyudhana He is properly the grandson of Śini

[4] A son of Hridika, a chief of the house of Yadu and kinsman of Krishna He brought to the field the adherents of the Bhoja Andhaka and Kukkura branches of the same family who with Kritavarma being nearly connected with the Mathura branch of the Yadavas, of whom Kansa, the head, was murdered by Krishna, are very consistently opposed to that prince's allies

[5] Paurava or son of Puru, but a more particular definition of this person is wanting He is called in another section a powerful prince

Secure of conquest on Subhadra's son
The youthful champion shrunk not from the contest
As bounds the lion's cub upon the elephant,
The gallant boy sprang fierce upon the chief
The royal shade and flaunting banner fell
And now himself had perished, but his dart
With timely aim the bow of Abhimanyu
Struck into pieces—from his tingling hand
The youthful warrior cast the fragments off
And drew his sword and grasped his iron bound shield
Upon the car of Paurava he leapt,
And seized the chief—his charioteer he slew,
And dragged the monarch senseless o'er the field
Above the prostrate prince he stood triumphant
As o'er the slaughtered bull the lion strides
The Kuru princes marked their friend's disgrace
And Jayadratha[1], burning for revenge
Alighted from his chariot, and defied
The son of Arjuna to nobler combat
The youth obeyed the call, he left his prize,
Sprang from his car and stood awhile exposed
Unsheltered to a shower of darts and spears
From circling foes but by his active sword,
Asunder cloven or his shield repelled

---

[1] Jayadratha brought to the field the troops of Sindhu or Sind and the Sauviras His father Vriddhakshetra had been killed by Arjuna the father of Abhimanyu with whom therefore he had a deed of vengeance to settle He had also been an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Draupadi

Fit match for Salya's might, the worthy peer
Of his own giant strength Onward he moved
To meet the king, and pleased the monarch marked
A coming foe that would not shame his valour
On either side the anxious hosts beheld
The warrior pair, and loud the trumpets blew,
And echoing clamours heralded the conflict
For who of all the Kuru bands but Salya
The force of Bhimasena could encounter?
And who amongst the Pandus could oppose,
Save Bhimasen, the might of Madra's king?
Each chieftain raised a ponderous iron mace,
Studded with spikes, and gorgeous set with gold,
And as they circled rapid through the air,
Like flashing lightning gleamed the whirling weapons
Fierce as two savage bulls the chieftains stood
Opposed, nor long delayed the interchange
Of deadly blows As met the clashing iron,
Fast from the stroke the fiery flashes flew,
And radiant splinters sparkled round the head
Of each tall champion, like a glittering swarm
Of fire-flies round some venerable tree
From the deep gashes trickling torrents ran
And like the Kinsuka[1], when thickly set
With vermil blossoms, glowed each warrior form
Unshaken as a mountain, Bhíma bore
The rain of blows with like unyielding strength
The Madra king sustained the mace of Bhíma,

---

[1] A tree that bears blood red flowers (Butea frondosa)

Like a tall rock, whose base is rooted firm,
Though frequent thunder strokes have scarred its
summit
To gain the vantage of the fight intent,
Their practised skill the combatants display,
Alternate they advance, retire, or move,
In circling round—ten paces they retreat,
Then rush like butting elephants together
At last, concentring all their strength, they struck,
And both, like Indra's banners by the storm
Uprooted, fell When Kritavarmá saw
The king of Madra senseless on the earth,
He urged his troops to aid, and in the instant
The fainting warrior to his car they bore
Reeled though his brain, as he had deeply quaffed
The wine cup, Bhíma in a moment rose
With rage he maddened, when he saw the foe
Escaped his vengeance, and in vain he called
The king of Madra to renew the war
The sons of Pándu with redoubling shouts,
And mingled clang of horn, and drum, and shell
Proclaimed their joy, and hailed their champion's
triumph
The Kuru host disheartened when he saw,
The son of Karna, valiant Vrishasena,
Foremost to rally strove, and with his shafts
Thick darting as the solar rays, he hurled
The Pandu warriors to the shades of hell
Like trees uprooted by the gale they strewed
The field The Kuru bands their hopes resumed,

And ardent sought the war—their kindling fires
Their veteran leader fanned, and led them on
Against the monarch of the adverse host
Fierce in their van his chariot Drona urged
Full on Yudhishthira, and with a shaft
Struck from his grasp his bow The noble Arjuna,
Encouraging his brave Panchala guard,
Stood fearless by his brother, and repelled
Unmoved the shock, as breasts some ample stream,
And reflux drives, the waters of the main
Still Droṅa strove—across his threatening course
The valiant Yugandhara[1] daring rushed,
As blows a gale athwart the angry deep
A spear dislodged him from his car, and doomed
His soul to Yama's dwelling Drona next
With fatal shaft the head of Sinhasena
Lopped from the trunk—then flew his weighty lance
At Vyaghradatta[2]—in the breast infixed
The weapon quivered, and the hero fell
Such deeds appalled the Pandavas, they cried,
This day to Dhritarashtra's sons gives victory
A moment more, and their resistless chief
Shall captive lead our king Yet not the less
They closed around and Arjuna exclaimed,
Fear not, my friends, still, still your fame maintain

So speaking on he dashed with whirring wheel

---

[1] A prince of the Yadu family, of the branch of Śini

[2] We cannot pretend to give any satisfactory account of this person, or the preceding victim of Droṅa's exploits

Of Kuru and of Pándu, should improve
Their growing years in exercise of arms
With sage deliberation long he scanned
A suitable preceptor for their youth,
Who to meet skill in war and arms should join
Intelligence and learning, lofty aims,
Religious earnestness and love of truth
And such in Drona Bharadwaja's son,
Wise, brave and pious did Gangeya[1] find
Revered as his high fame and rank demanded,
Well pleased assented Drona to the charge,
And by his cares the gallant sons of Pandu
And Kuru's princely heirs were quickly trained
In arms and warlike practice, as became
Their martial origin and regal birth

Where Ganga[2] from her mountain portal issues,
Dwelt Bharadwaja, a most holy sage,
Who penance plied through many a painful year
Nor did he softer sentiments disdain
For, viewing sportive in the cooling stream
A beauteous nymph of heaven, he owned the force
Of charms celestial, and confessed desire

---

disapproved of the conduct of Duryodhana towards his cousins but when the war broke out, sided as a matter of duty with the Kuru Princes, he was killed early in the conflict at the period in the text both they and the Pandava youths were equally under his care

[1] Gangeya a name of Bhishma the son of Ganga

[2] Gangadwara or Hardwara the gate of Ganga or of Vishnu

Hence Drona sprang—his tenderest youth was
taught
Lessons of wisdom from his saintly sire,
Nor less in arms instructed by the son
Of Fire[1], his father's faithful friend, directed
To wield the blazing[2] shafts with fatal aim—
His lessons and his sports the royal heir
Of Prishat shared—alike the sage's charge
In friendship for the father, and in hope
That like regard should mutual bind the sons

When unto man's estate the youthful pair
Arrived, their fortunes sundered them The king
Relinquished life and throne, and Drupada
The powerful sceptre of Panchála[3] swayed
Next Drona wept his holy sire exalted

---

[1] Agnivesa is the name of this individual, who is known by few other circumstances, a work on medicine is ascribed to him [Weber, Catal der Sanskrithandschriften, No 910 41 47]

[2] The Ágneya Astra, the weapon of fire, a musket or match-lock if our readers will, although we are afraid, our text in tends something more visionary [Sir H Elliot's Bibliogr Index to the Historians of Muhammedan Indian Calc 1849, p 359 64 373 f]

[3] The kingdom of Panchála seems to have occupied part of Oude, the lower Doab and Agra, it could not have extended far in the latter direction, as Mathura was the seat of an inde pendent principality, whilst the states of Benares and Magadha must have pressed closely on its southern limits [Lassen, Ind Alt I, 602 St Julien, Memoires sur les contrees occidentales, II, 348 f] It may be doubted whether Kanoj was a distinct state at the period of the Mahabharata Panchala is said to derive its name from the five (Pancha) sons of Haryaswa, Mudgala, Srinjaya,

To heavenly regions from a transient world
He wedded, so his father had ordained,
The virtuous Kripá[1], from whose bosom sprang
The mighty Aswatthama[2]—him to rear
To virtue and to glory strove the sage,
The pleasing task absorbing all the thoughts,
That holy rites and pious duties spared
The wrathful son of Jamadagni[3] closed

Vrihadishu Pravira and Kampilya, whom their father declared able (alam) to rule the kingdom Vishnu Purana [p 454] The Panchalas as well as the Kauravas were of the family of Puru—descending immediately from Ajamidha Ajamidha had several sons of whom the elder was Riksha the father of Samvarana, the father of Kuru, the younger was Nila according to the Vishnu Purana [p 453 5] The Mahabharata differs in the name, but adds *that the Panchala branch expelled the elder branch from Hastina*pura, and obliged Samvarana to retire to the Indus, his son Kuru, however, returned to a more westerly direction, and having established himself in the woods above Delhi, thence called from him Kurukshetra or Kurujangala, finally recovered his ancient patrimony

[1] Kripa and his sister Kripa were the children of Satadhriti a descendant of the Panchala branch of the Kuru family [but, according to the Mahabh I, 5074 ff, of Saradwat Lassen, II 598 f] they were exposed in their infancy in a thicket of Sara grass, where *they were found* by Santanu, *who took them home* and reared them as his own

[2] So named it is said from his making a noise at his birth as sturdily as a horse, (aswa, a horse and sthama, sound) a better etymology however is aswa a horse, and sthama strength [Mahabharata I, 5115 16]

[3] Jamadagni was a pious ascetic descended from Bhrigu a*mongst the fruits of his penance was the possession of the divine* cow from whom all that was desired was obtained by her aid

His dread career, now satiate with revenge,
And bounteous on the priestly tribe bestowed
The boundless treasures of the Kshatriya slain—
Nought for himself reserved, as all he sought
Was heavenly knowledge and the hermit's cell.
Droṅa amongst the Brahman race preferred
His suit and followed by a numerous train
Of pious scholars travelled from his home
To mount Mahendra, where the hero sage,
The son of Bhŕigu, eminent in wisdom

---

he entertained the monarch Kartavirya and his train the King was desirous of obtaining so valuable an animal, and as the Muni refused to part with her, he attempted to carry her off by force in this he failed, as the cow who had a voice of her own in the business flew to heaven, but her pious master lost his life, his son Parasurama vowed in revenge to exterminate the Kshatriya race, and this he effected in twenty one successful attacks upon them he then gave the earth to the Brahmanas The story is apparently an allegorical account of a struggle for the sovereignty of India between the military and priestly castes Parasurama is the seventh descent of Vishnu In consequence of sparing some of the Kshatriya women who became wives of the Brahmanas, the military tribe was suffered to revive we may suppose

——in Ráma's reign,

Such mixture was not held a stain,

as otherwise the great Ramachandra, Krishna, and all the heroes of the Mahabharata would be no better than of the Varna Sankara, mixed and degraded castes The Brahmans treated their benefactor with great ingratitude and allowed him to call no part of all the earth his own, upon which he repaired to the Malabar coast and commanded the sea to withdraw as far as he could fling his hatchet this was done and he obtained a domicile in the present land of the Nairs—whence for a long time the legend says the Brahmans were utterly excluded

As irresistible in war, sojourned
His name and lineage known, the warrior gave
Kind greeting to his guest, and bade him speak
His wish, secure he could not speak in vain
Exhaustless wealth was Drona's seeming suit,
Though different purpose lurked beneath his prayer—
Rama replied, whate'er of costly gems
Or gold was made my spoil, I have bestowed
On Brahma's sons, and upon Kasyapa
The sea girt earth and all her smiling towns
Have I conferred there but remain myself
And heavenly arms, chuse between them and me,
I chuse the weapons, Drona cried, but scant
My skill to wield them, give me that, and all
I seek is granted, Rama smiled assent,
And from his lessons quickly Drona caught
The needful art Contented then the sage
Departed from Mahendra and repaired
To share the boon with Prishat's regal son,
The friend and fellow of his earliest years

Soon in the presence of Panchala's King
Heedless of ceremony, Drona hailed
The haughty Drupada, "Behold in me
Your friend' he cried the monarch sternly viewed
The sage and bent his brows, and with disdain
His eyeballs reddened silent awhile he sat
Then arrogantly spoke Brahman, methinks
Thou shewest little wisdom or the sense
Of what is fitting when thou call st me friend

What friendship, weak of judgment, can subsist
Between a luckless pauper and a king—
Grant that such bond did formerly unite us,
What then. with age it wanes and feels decay—
Think not that everlasting friendship dwells
In human hearts, the hand of time impairs
Its strength; and passion plucks it from the bosom
And whom does Friendship but as equals join
Such as we once might be, but are no more?
The poor and rich, the ignorant and wise,
The brave and recreant never can be friends
Those who in wealth compete or in like rank
Exalted move acknowledge mutual worth
The learned Brahman cannot know esteem
For him to whom the Vedas are a mystery
The warrior scorns the man who cannot guide
The rattling chariot through the ranks of war,
And he to whose high mandate nations bow
Disdains to stoop to friends beneath the throne
Hence then with idle dreams, dismiss the memory
Of other days and thoughts—I know thee not "[1]
Struck with amaze, a moment Drona paused,
Then turned away nor vouchsafed a reply—
He left the city and indignant sought
The stately capital that from the elephant,
Derives its name[2], the seat of Kuru's sons

---

[1] Drupada had cause to repent this, Drona with his scholars invading Panchala and completely subduing it Drupada's daughter, thence named Draupadi, became the wife of the five Pandavas

[2] Nagakhya, also Gajakhya meaning the same Hastinapura

Not long unknown the mighty master dwelt
Within the capital, when Bhishma heard
The tale, and for his nephews sought his aid
The palace was his home, and all, the realm
Of cost produced, was placed at his command
Thus honoured, pleased he trained the princely cohort
To martial excellence quick spread his fame
To other climes and from all regions gathered
Illustrious youth, and with the heirs of Kuru
And Pandu's sons the hopes of Vrishni's line
And sons of Andhaka[1] partook his lessons

But all the blooming troop in warrior skill,
And gallant bearing, Arjuna[2] surpassed
Like him none reined the steed, guided the elephant,
Or drove the chariot, none unyielding stood,
The battle onset on the level plain
And none, with like dexterity or vigour
Opposed in single fight his practised arm,
Whether he launched the javelin, hurled the dart,

---

means probably the same, though it is explained the city of King Hasti having been founded by a Prince of that name, the son of Suhotra and father of Ajamidha the ruins of Hastinapura, long the capital of Gangetic India, are now covered with ant hills and only a place of worship remains, about 20 miles S W from Daranagar, on a branch of the Ganges formerly the bed of the river [Lassen, I 597 Beilage I, p XXIII]

[1] The families of Vrishni and Andhaka were divisions of the line of Yadu of which Krishna was a descendant.

[2] Arjuna the third of the Pandavas, the youngest son of Pritha by Indra. [Lassen, I, 634 41]

Wielded the battleaxe or whirled the mace
Or rapid with the trenchant falchion smote.
Nor less in peaceful virtues shone the Prince:
Submissive ever to his teacher's will
Contented, modest, affable and mild—
Him Droṅa favoured, and prophetic hailed
Unequalled archer 'mongst the sons of men.

And now expert in arms the youthful band,
Their great preceptor thus addressed the king
Amidst his peers assembled, holy Kṙipa
And wise Bahlíka, valiant Somadatta,
Sagacious Bhíshma, the immortal bard
Vyása and the prudent Vidura[1]: Great King,
Thy princes have acquired due skill in arms;
Command and let their prowess be approved
By public trial. Pleased the monarch cried:
Thy task, illustrious son of Bharadwája,
Is worthily accomplished; speak the time,
The place, and all thy judgement shall esteem
Essential to the honourable proof:

---

[1] Kṙipa and Bhíshma have been already introduced to our readers. Bahlika, whence the country of Báhlíka or Balkh is supposed to be named [Lassen, I, 597. Weber, Ind. Stud., I, 205.] was the brother of Śántanu, uncle of Bhíshma and great uncle of Dhṙitaráshṫra, Somadatta is his son. Vyása is the author of the Mahábhárata, the arranger of the Vedas and the supposed author of the Puráṅas, he was the son of the sage Parásara by Satyavatí, the adopted daughter of a fisherman, afterwards married to Śántanu, and the appointed father of Dhṙitaráshṫra and Páṅdu. Vidura is also the son of Vyása by a female slave, and consequently the half brother of Dhṙitaráshṫra. [Lassen, I, 629. 34,]

Do thou command, we shall obey thy will
And deeper now our grief that light no more
Revisits these sad eyes, and much we envy
Our happier peers who may behold with joy
The martial promise of our princely sons
Go, Vidura, and what the sage ordains
Attentively fulfill, no dearer thought
Our bosom cherishes than his content

Attended by the brother of the king,
The sage went forth and chose the field of arms
A level plain, where tree and bush was none
To break the smoothness of the turfy ground
Wide was the champain spread and round the marge
A cool pellucid stream meandering flowed—
Within the circle pious Drona reared
An altar for an offering to the Gods
Next on the borders of the plain arose
A tall pavilion rich with gold and pearl,
And hung with trophies and the spoils of war—
With gorgeous seats provided for the King,
The peers, the Queens and beauty of the palace
Then soon around, the busy artists reared
Innumerous galleries, and tents and booths,
To shade the throngs that from the city poured
In countless concourse to behold the scene

Now all the lofty instruments of war
Proclaimed the festival, the King went forth
In long procession, by his peers attended

The shoulder, and the better hand sustained
The sturdy bow, a martial host preceded,
Who various implements of war conveyed
In decent file according to their years
Arrayed, the Princes graceful trod the field,
And Yudhishthira eldest led the van
The sports commenced and at the destined aim
The arrows flew, the multitude beheld
With wonder their unerring flight, and many
Declined their looks, unable to sustain
The dazzling aspect of the fearful shower
Now standing on the ground they drew the bow
And struck the distant mark with glittering shaft,
Nor with less truth the feathered arrows plied,
On generous steeds in rapid circles borne,
The crowds delighted marked their youthful prowess,
And long continued plaudits shook the field[1]

Next on the thundering car the heroes stood,
And dexterous guided in its swift career
Then on the giant elephant ascended
Or strode the steed, and in the mimic fight
With sword and shield the shock of war pourtrayed
Then mingling in tumultuous mellay waved
The falchion and here singly one sustained
The blows of numbers, or there numbers mixed
Opposed, and all in strength and speed and grace,

---

[1] Many passages in this and other works prove the Hindus to have cultivated archery most assiduously and to have been very Parthians in the use of the bow on horseback

While lightning streams along its glittering sides,
And Indra's bow shoots gorgeous o'er its breast[1]
As modest moved the youthful hero, rose
The clang of shells and trumpets, and loud shouts
Of admiration from the gazing crowd
They hailed him Arjuna, the first in arms,
And worth, the flower of modesty and valour,
The cries ascended where his mother sat,
And o'er her bosom, swelling with delight,
And pride, fast fell the fond maternal tear

Commanded by his teacher, Arjun drove[2]
His chariot bounding o'er the spacious field,
With dexterous rein, and as it rolled he rose,
Erect or cowering shrunk, now in the midst
He stood, then forward on the pole, then leaped
To earth, then vaulted on the whirling car,
And still with shaft undeviating pierced
The subtlest mark, the softest and most flexile
And most refractory, with equal aim
At once five arrows in the iron jaws
Of a vast boar who formidable scoured
The plain[3] he lodged then twenty shafts he shot

---

[1] This is the genuine offspring of a tropical climate and no less just than splendid

[2] We omit Arjuna's exploits with the mystical weapons of fire water &c. as they are implements of which we cannot form much less convey any exact idea.

[3] We believe the author means an iron effigy and therefore plead guilty to a gratuitous innovation in this and still more in the following feat it will be thought that our author draws a

Together in the hollow of a horn
Suspended by a lithe loose waving string
Applauding shouts repaid the archer's skill,
And heaven and earth loud echoed with his praise

And now in troops the youthful bands divided
Awhile reposed, the five brave brethren here
With Drona in their centre, like the moon
When through the five-starred house of Hasta[1] moving
The hundred Sons of Dhritarashtra there
Round Aswatthama gathered like the Gods,
Around their monarch when the giant race
Of Daityas threat with impious war the skies
When on the sudden from the barrier rose
A clamour rending heaven all eyes were turned
Towards the place, and from the gate approached
Through wondering crowds the Sun's bright progeny,
The valiant Karna[2] on his breast he wore

---

reasonably long bow to shoot a number of arrows at once in a firm compact manner was however no doubt the ambition of Hindu archery in ancient days

[1] The thirteenth of the lunar mansions or asterisms which mark the moon's path it contains five stars of which the brightest is supposed to be γ or δ corvi [Journal of the Amer Or Soc VI, 334]

[2] Karna was the son of Pritha by the Phœbus of Hindu mythology as he was born before the lady was married she exposed him in the Jamna where he was found and preserved by Dhritarashtra's charioteer the protection of his real father was also extended to him, and consequently in his youth he became a hero of the first order the circumstances of this encounter, and other oc

The mail that to his birth was given[1] his ears
With gorgeous pendants shone with bow in hand
And mighty falchion girt, he proud advanced
And like a moving mountain strode the field
The virgin-born, the offspring of the sun,
The tamer of his foes, the chief of fame,
Tall as a palm, and as a lion strong

Erect amidst the plain he paused, and viewed
With looks of pride the multitude around,
To Drona homage paid, then turned to Arjuna,
And thus defied the prince, "whate'er thine arm
This day has wrought I pledge me to surpass,
The holy sage permitting" at his words,
As by a vast machine at once upraised
All rose, and most Duryodhana rejoiced
To hear his vaunt, for shame and indignation,
Surprise and envy of his kinsman's glory
And ancient hatred rankled at his heart

Then Drona gave assent, and every feat
By Arjuna achieved was wrought by Karna
Duryodhana his joy proclaimed aloud, he clasped
The hero to his heart whate'er the realm
Affords, demand, I plight my princely vow,
'Tis thine my friend and Karna made reply,

---

casions on which he experienced the disregard of his brethren threw him into the arms of their enemies and he proved one of the chief supports of Duryodhana and the Kurus

[1] Karna like Minerva was born ready equipped for the field, armed with a miraculous cuirass and lance

Upon his path the muttering thunder followed,
The brilliant lightning waved, his own bright bow
Its many coloured banner spread, and high
A pearly line of wild fowl winged the air
This when the sovereign of the day, the sire
Of gallant Karna, saw, he quick repaired
To grace his darling son with rival glory
So stood the youths opposed, protecting shade
O'er Arjuna impending hung his foe
Stood radiant glittering in the solar ray
Conflicting feelings filled the anxious crowd
And equal shared the interest of the fight

And now stood either on the verge of fate
When sapient Kripa Karna thus addressed
Undaunted stranger,—this the youngest son
Of Pritha and of Pandu will not shrink
From thine encounter, but do thou declare
Thy name and lineage, of what royal house
Art thou the ornament this known, the fight
Proceeds if thou an equal champion prove
With princes to contend the sons of kings
Strive not with rivals of inferior birth
He said and ceased, and Karna silent stood
And hung his head, as when surcharged with dew
The drooping Lotus bows its fragrant blossom

Him thus abashed Duryodhanabeheld

---

gotten by divinities it being death to her own husband Pandu to approach her

And instant cried awhile the sports suspend,
And then no plea be wanting to the trial,
The state of Anga[1] of its lord bereft
Upon our will depends, this valiant chief
Be crowned its sovereign, then with equal pride
He calls thee Arjuna to equal arms
Away,—this instant sees the hero king

Impetuous thus the Prince, and none presumed
To question his resolve, so ceased the sports,
And Karna was installed as Anga's king[2]

Ib Vol IV (Septbr 1825) p 141—150

(The Swayamvara, the free, or self election of a husband, was a not uncommon practice amongst the Hindus, and forms the subject of frequent description both in ancient and modern poetry the Princes being assembled in a public place, with appropriate ceremonies, the Princess performed the tour of the circle, and signified her preference by throwing a garland of flowers

[1] Anga lay upon the Ganges including part of Behar and Bhagulpur and Rajmahal

[2] In the original some further squabbling takes place after Karna's installation before the party breaks up, and Karna's adoptive father, Dhritarashtra's charioteer, makes his appearance, and claims him as his son to the great triumph of the Pandavas Duryodhana continues to advocate his cause, but no strife ensues, and embittered hostility is the only result of the sports

upon the neck of the successful competitor the marriage rite was subsequently performed as usual It may be easily supposed that the preference was not always the suggestion of the moment and grew out of previous acquaintance thus Damayantí adopted this mode of chusing Nala in concert with her lover Tarávatí chose Chandrasekhara by the guidance of her nurse, and the Princess of Canoj invited Prithu Rai to her Swayamvara The consequences may also be easily conjectured, and mortified vanity or disappointed expectation must often have engendered personal hostility the result may not unfrequently have been long and widely felt, and though neither the Swayamvaras of Draupadí or Damayantí may have been attended with any remarkable events, the choice of the Princess of Canoj was less innoxious, for the animosity which it excited between her father and her lord, laid India bare to Mohammedan aggression, and paved the way for European ascendancy)

THE CHOICE OF DRAUPADI

[Mahabh I ch 184-19?]

From Bhágírathí's[1] pleasant borders went
The five brave brothers[2], and towards the north

---

[1] The Ganges named Bhágírathí from Bhagíratha, the fourth in descent from Sagara, by whose devotions she was induced to come down upon the earth for the purification of the bones of his ancestors

[2] Yudhishthira, Bhíma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, the

Their wandering steps directed on the road
They past assembled throngs, travelling alike
A northward journey From a pious troop
Of Brahmans Yudhishthira asked the cause
Of this advancing host, and whither bound
They answered —In Panchála's[1] spacious realm
The powerful monarch Drupada observes
A solemn feast attending princes wait
With throbbing hearts his beauteous daughter's choice,
The royal Draupadí[2], whose charms surpass
All praise, as far as her mild excellence
And mind transcend the beauties of her person
She from the sacrificial hearth was born
When her imperial Sire performed the rite
To win him sons, whose prowess might avenge
The wrongs he had sustained from Drona's pride
Then too her gallant brother Dhrishṫadyumna,
Arrayed in shining mail, and armed with bow
And falchion, like the flashing gleam of flame[3]

---

two last were the twin sons of Madri, the second wife of Pandu, the three first are the sons of Pritha

[1] Panchala In addition to the observations on this country made on a former occasion (see above) we may add that we have since met with a tract in which Nepal is said to be comprised within Northern Panchala

[2] Draupadi, a patronymic, the daughter of Drupada

[3] The birth of Draupadi and Dhrishtadyumna is thus related in the Mahabharata [I, ch 167] Although Drupada was compelled to acquiesce in the arrangement made by Drona, by which his rule was confined to the country south of the Bhagirathi, the partition

Sprang radiant from the consecrated fire
Now ripe the nymph in years and charms, the king
Commands her wed some prince of her election
Fast to his court from every clime repair
Kings and the sons of kings, and chiefs of fame
Exulting emulous in youth and valour
And aged priests and venerable Brahmans
Well skilled to solemnize each sacred rite

---

was the cause of deep mortification, and he long meditated on the means by which he might recover his former power and be revenged upon his enemy He especially regretted the want of a son whose youth and valour might compete with Drona s disciples, and he visited the chief resorts of the Brahmans in hope to meet with some holy sage whose more than human faculties might secure him progeny He found two Brahmans of eminent learning and sanctity named Yaja and Upayaja, and addressed himself to the latter promising him a million of cows if he enabled him to obtain the son he desired Upayaja, however, declined the task and referred him to his elder brother Yaja, to whom the King repaired and promised ten million of kine with much reluctance he undertook to direct a sacrificial ceremony by which the King should obtain offspring and called his younger brother to his assistance When the rite had reached the proper period the queen was invited to partake of it, but she had not completed her toilet and begged the Brahmans to delay the ceremony It was too late, and the sacrifice proceeding without her, the children were born independent of her participation The son Dhrishtadyumna appeared with a diadem on his head, in full mail and armed with a bow and falchion from the middle of the sacrificial fire Draupadi the daughter from the middle of the vedi or altar, on which the fire had been kindled! she was of very black colour although exceeding loveliness, and was thence named Krishna, the name of the son is derived from the pride and power with which he was endowed from his birth

Thither we go and willingly shall guide
Your steps to share with us the liberal gifts
That princely bounty on our tribe bestows,
Or to behold, if so your youth prefer,
The joyous revelry that gilds the scene,
For thither mummers, mimes and gleemen throng,
Athletics, who the prize of strength or skill
Contend in wrestling or the gauntlet's strife
Minstrels with sounding lutes and Bards[1] who chant
Their lord's high lineage and heroic deeds—
These merry sports beheld, you may return
With us or where you list, unless it chance
The Princess toss the wreath to one of you—
For you are goodly and of God like bearing
Thus he, and blithe Yudhishthira replied—
Have with you to the wedding So they went
To South Panchala with the Brahman band

[1] The persons named in the text are Natas Vaitalikas, Nart takas, Sutas, Magadhas, and Niyodhakas The Nata is properly an actor, but in popular acceptation it comprehends jugglers, buf foons, and persons practising slight of hand and exhibiting feats of agility, in this last also the Narttaka partakes although properly speaking a dancer The Vaitalika in his official character is a poetical watchman or a bellman—one who announces in verse the change of the seasons and the hours of the day—when not re tained for the purpose he is a public singer The Sutas and Ma gadhas are both considered to discharge the same kind of duty, and are the bards and heralds of the Hindus, being attached to the state of all men of rank to chaunt their praises celebrate their actions, and commemorate their ancestry The Niyodhaka is a prize fighter either as a wrestler or boxer or a swordsman—in some parts of India also he fights with gauntlets, armed with steel spikes

Through many a smiling grove their journey lay
And by the marge of many a limpid lake
And oft they loitering paused upon their route
To mark the beauties of each grateful scene
At length arrived, they made their humble dwelling
A Potter's lowly roof—and daily forth
They fared as mendicants to gather alms
And now the day of festival drew nigh,
When Drupada, whose anxious hopes desired
A son of Pandu for his daughter's lord,
And who had sent his messengers to search
The banished chiefs, still sought by them in vain,
Devised a test—no other force but theirs
He deemed could undergo, to win the bride
A ponderous bow with magic skill he framed[1],
Unyielding but to more than mortal strength
And for a mark he hung a metal plate
Suspended on its axle, swift revolving
Struck by a shaft that from the centre strayed
This done he bade proclaim—that he whose hand
Should wing the arrow to its destined aim,
Should win the Princess by his archery

---

[1] Trial of strength by the drawing of a bow is a favourite subject in Hindu poetry, and the heroes of two of the most celebrated and most ancient works in Sanskrit the Mahabharata and the Rámayana both win their wives in a similar manner Arjuna gains Draupadi as in the text and Rama obtains Sita by breaking the bow of Siva which other princes were unable to bend We need not remind our readers of the bow of Ulysses here—we lately pointed out one coincidence between Hindu and Homeric fiction (above p 259) and this seems to furnish a second

Before the day appointed, trooping came
Princes and chiefs innumerous 'midst the throng
Duryodhana and all the hundred sons
Of Dhritarashtra with the gallant Karna
In haughty cohort at the court appeared
With hospitable act the king received
His royal guests and fitting welcome gave

Between the North and East without the gates
There lay a spacious plain a fosse profound
And lofty walls enclosed its ample circuit,
And towering gates and trophied arches rose,
And tall pavilions glittered round its borders
Here ere the day of trial came, the sports
Were held and loud as ocean's boisterous waves,
And thick as stars that gem the Dolphin's brow[1],
The mighty city here her myriads poured
Around the monarch's throne on lofty seats
Of gold with gems emblazoned sat the kings,
Each lowering stern defiance on the rest
Without the barriers pressed the countless crowd

---

[1] In the head of the Sisumara —The Sisumara is properly the Gangetic porpoise (Delphinus gangeticus) but the astronomical Sisumara [Vishnu Pur II, 12 Bhagav Pur V, 23] to which the allusion is made is as much a non descript as any of the pictured monstrosities on our celestial globe—(see Sir Wm Jones supplement to the Essay on Hindu chronology A Res II 402) The commentator says the expression is a parenthetical equivalent for the North-east quarter, that being the situation of the asterism—and implies, that the people assembled in that direction He is probably right, but we prefer being wrong

Or clambering upon scaffolds clustering hung
Skirting the distance multitudes beheld
The field from golden lattices, or thronged
The high house-tops, whose towering summits touched
The clouds, and like the mountain of the gods[1]
With sparkling peaks streamed radiant through the air
A thousand trumpets brayed, and slow the breeze
With incense laden wafted perfume round
Whilst games of strength and skill—the graceful dance,
The strains of music, or dramatic art,
Awoke the gazer's wonder and applause

Thus sixteen days were passed, and every chief
Of note was present—and the king no more
Could with fair plea his daughter's choice delay
Then came the Princess forth in royal garb
Arrayed and costly ornaments adorned
A garland interwove with gems and gold
Her delicate hands sustained—from the pure bath
With heightened loveliness she tardy came,
And blushing in the princely presence stood
Next in the ring the reverend Priest appeared
And strewed the holy grass and poured the oil,
An offering to the God of Fire, with prayer

---

[1] Kailása—the favourite residence of Siva, a very conspicuous part of the Himalaya bears this appellation

Appropriate, and with pious blessings crowned
Then bade the king the trumpets' clangor cease
And hush the buzzing crowd—while his brave son
The gallant Dhrishtadyumna on the plain
Descended and his father's will proclaimed
"Princes, this bow behold—yon mark—these shafts—
Whoe'er with dexterous hand at once directs
Five arrows to their aim, and be his race,
His person and his deeds equivalent
To such exalted union, He obtains
My sister for his bride—my words are truth"
Thus said, he to the Princess next described
Each royal suitor by his name and lineage[1]

---

[1] The author favours us with their names—and as a catalogue of the chief dramatis personæ of the Mahabharata it may be admissible in a note, although a hopeless recapitulation for the text The principal sons of Dhritarashtra are Duryodhana Durvishaha—Durmukha—Dushpradarshana Vivinsati Vikarna Duhsasana, Yuyutsu, Vayuvega—Bhimavegarava Ugravudha Valaki, Karakavu, Virochana, Kundaka Chitrasena Kanakadhwaja, Nandaka Bahusáli, Tuhunda and Vikata—the other princes are Karna, the half brother of the Pandus, Aswatthama the son of Drona, Bhoja, whose name is traceable in many parts of India and at different periods, Vrihanta, Maniman Dandadhara, Sahadeva Jayasena—Meghasandhi Virata, his two sons Sankha and Uttara, Varddhakshemi Susarma, Senavindu, Suketu, and his son Suvarchas, Suchitra, Sukumara, Vrika, Satyadhriti, Suryadhwaja, Rochamana, Nila, Chitrayudha, Ansuman, Chekitana, Sreniman, Chandrasena, the son of *Samudrasena*, *Jalasandha*, *and his sons* Danda and Vidanda, Vásudeva, king of Paundra, Bhagadatta, Kalinga and Tamralipta or the kings of those countries—The king of Madra, Salya with his sons Rukmangada and Rukmaratha—Kauravya, Somadatta, Bhuri, Bhurisrava, Sala, Sudakshina, the king of Kamboja,

And martial deeds, and bade her give the wreath
To him whose prowess best deserved the boon.
Quick from their gorgeous thrones the kings uprose,
Descending to the conflict, and around
The lovely Draupadí contending pressed;
Like the bright gods round Śiva's mountain bride[1].
Love lodged his viewless arrows in their hearts,
And jealous hatred swelled their haughty minds;
Each on his rivals bent a lowering glance,
And friends till now, they met as deadliest foes
Alone the kindred bands remained aloof
Who owned[2] Janárdana their glorious chief.
He and the mighty[3] Haláyudha curbed
Their emulous zeal,—and tranquil they beheld
Like furious elephants the monarchs meet;

Dhridhadhanwa, Paurava, Vrihadbala, Sushena, Sivi, Ausinara—The destroyer of Patachchara—The sovereign of the Karushas The chiefs of the house of Yadu are Balarama, Krishna, the son of Vasudeva, the son of Rukmini, Śamba Chárudeshna, and the son of Pradyumna, Akrura, Satyaki, Uddhava, Kritavarma, Hardikya, Prithu and Viprithu, Viduratha, Kanka, Sanku, Gaveshana, Ásavaha, Niruddha, Samika, Sarimejaya, Vatapati, Kshilli, Pindaraka, and the valiant Usinara. Other Kings are Bhagiratha Vrihatkshatra, Jayadratha the Prince of Sindhu, Vrihadratha, Bahlika, Srutayu, Uluka, Kaitava, Chitrangada, Śubhangada, Vatsaraja the King of Kosala, Sisupala, the king of Chedi, and Jarasandha, the sovereign of Magadha All these perform parts more or less prominent in the subsequent conflict.

[1] Parvati, the daughter of Himalaya

[2] A name of Krishna, the object of human adoration

[3] A name of Balarama, the elder brother of Krishna, from his being armed with a plough [Lassen, Ind Alt., I, 6?0 ff.]

In bitterness and upwards turned his eyes
To his great Sire the Sun—then cast to earth
The bow and shafts and sternly stalked away.—

Thus foiled the Princes, through the murmuring crowd
Amazement spread—then Arjuna from where
He and his brethren with the Brahmans placed
Had viewed the scene advanced to prove his skill—
The priestly bands with wonder struck beheld
Who seemed a student of their tribe aspire
To triumph where the mightiest chiefs had failed—
They deemed the like disgrace would shame the attempt,
And ridicule their race and name assail,
And many a venerable elder strove
To turn the stripling from the hopeless task:
They strove in vain—nor did they all despair—
For many marked his elephantine strength,
His lion port and self-collected soul;
And fancied that they saw revived in him
The son of Jamadagni[1]: to o'erthrow
Once more the haughty Kshatriya's[2] power and pride.

---

[1] Parasurama, by whom the Kshatriya or military race was exterminated [Mahabh III, c. 117]

[2] Walking round a temple, an image, a venerable personage, or any object of veneration is an act of worship, amongst the Hindus The rite was not unknown as a purificatory one to the ancients, as Virgil Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda. The circumambulation of holy shrines is also an act of frequent practice in Roman Catholic countries

Unheeding praise or censure, Arjuna
Passed to the field with reverential steps
He round the weapon circled, next addressed
A silent prayer to Mahadeo and last
With faith inflexible on Krishna dwelt
One hand the bow upbore, the other drew
The sturdy cord, and placed the pointed shafts—
They flew—the mark was hit—and sudden shouts
Burst from the crowd long silent fluttering waved
The Brahman scarfs, and drum and trumpet brayed,
And Bard and Herald sung the hero's triumph.

Well pleased the monarch marked the youthful might
That had succeeded where so many chiefs
Of high renown were foiled, and deemed secure
His state by such alliance—nor was Draupadí
The less content, her beauties were the prize
Of youth and grace as well as skill in arms
But in the bosoms of the Princes burned
Indignant wrath, and each to other spake
Congenial rage Behold, they cried, the king
Regards us light as straws, and deigns to wed
His daughter to this Brahman boy whose craft
Has humbled royalty. but shall this be?
Destroy the parent tree, and with it falls
The fruit distasteful haughty and unjust
This heedless monarch from our rank withholds
The reverence due to kings Then let him die—
Him and his son together. He invites us

Here to his palace, and with outward seeming
Of hospitable rite receives us, soon
In scorn to end: what makes a Brahman here
In scenes like these? The Vedas have ordained,
A royal maid's election of her lord
Alone is fitting to the martial race.
Though Brahman arrogance or avarice urge
This trespass on our birthright, yet on them
We may not as we should avenge our wrongs;
The Brahman's life is sacred: then descend
Our fury on the guilty race of Drupada
He and his son shall feel our swords the maid,
Unless she chuse a royal lord, be tossed
Into the flame: then part we to our homes

Thus they, and soon their gleaming weapons menaced
The life of Drupada: the king in terror
Turned to the Brahmans· Arjuna at once
Rushed to his succour and defied his foes.
Quick to his side came Bhíma[1]· like the judge

[1] Bhima [Mahabh I, c 1°3] is the Hercules or Orlando of the mythological poetry of the Hindus, his uncommon strength was a supernatural endowment. In his youth, he was the great plague of the Kuru princes, beating them in every sport and contest. They therefore plotted to get rid of him, and at a juvenile party, at one of the water palaces of the king, administered a poisonous drug to him, and took advantage of his slumber to push him into the Ganges He fell into the region of the subterrene snakes, by whom he was bitten, one poison was the antidote of the other, and Bhima recovering from his sleep, soon beat off his antagonists they fled

The novel daring of the priestly tribe,
Then more indignant hastened to chastise them
By Karna and by Salya led, opposed
To Arjuna and Bhíma as to those
Who best deserved their force, like Elephants
With passion maddening, headlong on they rushed
Like Elephants the brothers met their might
Against the Brahman band Duryodhana
The royal squadron led, buth with disdain
For foes unwarlike filled, they curbed their prowess—
And waged contemptuously sportive strife
When Karna felt the vigour of that arm
Unequalled, he, astounded, paused and spake
Brahman, thy prowess should not want my praise,
But that it wakes my wonder what? art thou
Some deity disguised in mortal form?
No Brahman could display such martial skill,
Nor breathes the man who could defy my strength
Save Arjuna To Karna then the Prince
No God am I—nor hero—to the use
Of arms my holy teachers trained my youth
And here I stand to tame thy haughty pride
And triumph o'er thy fame then, chief, be firm!
But Karna from the field withdrew for vain
He deemed it to contend with Brahman might

Elsewhere the furious king of Madra fought
With powerful Bhíma both alike in arms
Expert, and with gigantic force endued

Long they contended, nor could either boast
Of vantage gained their shattered arms they threw
Aside, and grappling to each other clung
With hand and knee and chest to chest opposed,
They struggled long, at length the sudden grasp
Of Bhíma from the ground the king upbore
And dashed him with resistless sweep to earth
Stunned by the fall the haughty monarch lay
Senseless and bleeding at his victor's feet

Appalled by Salya's fate and Karna's flight,
The princes changed their anger for surprise,
And humbled to the seeming Brahmans spake
'Tis bravely done, and we confess your prowess
But what your birth, or where your country, tell,
Whose is the valour that has equal stood
The son of Radha[1] whose the strength that felled
The king of Madra? they are champions both
That few of their compeers would dare encounter
Suspend the strife although we stand as foes,
We own due reverence for your sacred race
Comply with our request then if ye list
The conflict be resumed Thus humbly they
The sons of Pándu stern surveyed the kings
Nor deigned reply but Vásudeva's[2] glance
Had penetrated their disguise, not yet
To be unveiled to hostile eyes and soothed

[1] Radha was the adoptive mother of Karna
[2] The patronymic of Krishna

The wounded indignation of the Princes
His gentle intercession lulled their rage,
And sullen from the field the Kings retired,
Midst shouts of triumph from the Brahman train
Then round the hero's neck the trembling hand
Of Draupadí the marriage chaplet flung,
And with his lovely bride, the prize of valour[1],

---

[1] Although won by Arjuna, Draupadi became, as is well known, the wife of all the brothers—or as Sir Wm Jones calls her—'a five male single female flower This plurality of husbands is un authorized by any provision in the Hindu law, although prevalent throughout the Himálaya mountains, and in Malabar The author of the Mahabharata, in preserving a circumstance, that must have been repulsive to his own feelings, must have been influenced by the general belief in a tradition, which he could not have invented Its insertion is a proof, that he drew the materials of his poem from other sources than his own imagination—he is clearly very much embarrassed with it, and endeavours to make sundry apo logies for it On the brothers returning to their college with Drau padi, they tell their mothers they have brought alms (Bhiksha) to which she replies without looking at them—being engaged in household matters—' Share it among ye all When she finds the article to be so divided is a daughter in law, she is much shocked but her words cannot be recalled, and Draupadi consequently be comes the bride of all her sons As if conscious, however, that this excuse is not quite sufficient, the author of the Mahabharata puts strong objections to it in the mouth of Drupada, who states that he had heard of one husband having many wives, but never of one wife s having many husbands, and declares it to be for bidden by usage, and the Vedas [M Muller, History of an cient Sanskrit Literature, p 44 ff] Yudhishthira replies that the practice may plead precedent, and instances the case of the ten sages called Prachetasas who had one wife, Gautami, in com mon Drupada, however, continuing to refuse his assent, Vyasa

The victor from the scene of strife withdrew.

---

is obliged to appear, the dilemma requiring such an arbitrator; and he overrules the objections of the king by relating to him a legend, by which it appears, that the five Pandus are five forms of Indras four of whom were exhibited to the fifth by Mahadeva, *to humble the pride of the king of* Swarga, *and all five are with* the same view condemned to a mortal birth, their Śrí also, or the personified glory of their royal condition, is sentenced to be born as their wife She is Draupadi At the same time Vishnu, on being made acquainted with the story by Indra, takes two hairs, a white and a black one, and these become the children of Devaki, Balarama and Krishna The worshippers of the latter who maintain, that he is Vishnu's whole self, are not well pleased with this account of his origin

V

INTRODUCTION TO THE DASA KUMARA CHARITA

Oriental Text Society London MDCCCXLVI

The Dasa Kumara Charita, or "Adventures of the Ten Princes", has been selected for publication on account of its manifold claims on the attention of the cultivators of Sanskrit literature

It is scarcely necessary to remind Sanskrit students, that the works hithertho published, conformably to the general character of Sanskrit composition, have been almost exclusively written in metre, and that the only specimens of prose which have been placed within their reach are the narratives of the Hitopadesa, the occasional dialogue of the dramas, technical works on law or grammar, or Scholia on metrical texts A continuous and standard prose composition is still wanting in printed Sanskrit literature, and the want is now supplied by a work written in a highly cultivated style, but entirely in prose, a work of deservedly high reputation among the learned of India, and one present-

the frequentative verb do not appear Such fancies as the exclusion of certain words or grammatical forms are not unknown in Sanskrit literature, especially at the period at which this work was probably written, a period at which, although not yet wholly corrupted, an elaborate and artificial style of writing had begun to supplant the simple and more elegant models that had been furnished by the writers of the school of Kalidasa

Tradition affirms the contemporary existence of Dandí, the author of the Dasa Kumara Charita, and Bhoja Deva, Rája of Dhárá, the celebrated patron of men of letters at the end of the tenth century * The internal evidence of the work is not at variance with the traditional date, for it describes both the political and social condition of India at a period anterior to the Mohammedan conquest, and no mention is made of the Mohammedans, except as merchants or as navigators, or rather, perhaps, pirates, in which capacities the Arabs are likely to have been known to the Hindus before the establishment of the slaves of Mohammed Sam at Delhi, and the desolation of Ujjayiní, in the immediate vicinity of Dhárá, by the second of the

* [Lassen Ind Alt. III, 844 50 ff, IV, 811 A Weber (Monatsberichte d Konigl Akademie der Wissenschaften 1859 p 21 Note) hints at the possibility of Dandi having lived under an earlier Bhoja in the 8th century See also F E Hall's strictures on the above assertions in the Preface to his edition of the Vasavadatta Calcutta 1859, p 19 ff and p 9 ff, by which Prof Weber's supposition is raised to certainty]

dynasty, Altmash. In truth, the perfect preservation of the political divisions of Central India, and the consistent delineation of manners unmixedly Hindu, might warrant the attribution of a still earlier date, but that this is opposed by tradition. The style would not be incompatible with an earlier æra, as it is not more elaborate than that of Bhavabhuti, who wrote in the eighth century, although it bears, perhaps, a closer affinity to that of parts of the Mahanataka, a drama ascribed to Bhoja himself*.

In contradiction, however, to the date usually assigned to the work, or to any earlier æra, we have one internal proof that it is later even than the reign of Bhoja, for the last of the stories relates to a prince who is said to be a member of his race—the Bhoja vansa—implying, necessarily, the prior existence of that prince. This would be fatal to the evidence of the tradition, as well as of the general tenor of the composition, if there were not a possibility that the story in which the Bhoja vansa is alluded to is not a part of the original work. It is universally admitted that the Dasa Kumára Charita was left unfinished by the author, and no specification is to be found of the point at which it terminated. The story in question ends abruptly, and would so far confirm the general admission, being in that case Dandi's own composition: but the style undergoes a change, and the language is less elevated, and the incidents are more

---

* [Lassen, Ind. Alt., IV, p. 817, 820 f.]

diffusely narrated These considerations suggest some doubt of the genuineness of this portion of the work, although they are not sufficient to justify a conclusive opinion If the work be, as it stands, the composition of Dandí, he must have flourished some time after Bhoja—not long, however—and in the time of some of his immediate descendants, as the mention *of the Bhoja vansa is clearly intended to* be complimentary This would not be incongruous with the priority of the author to the Mohammedan conquest, and we shall perhaps be not far wide of the truth in placing his composition late in the eleventh or early in the twelfth century

A work on Alankára, or Rhetoric, the Kávyádarsa, is also attributed to Dandí It is not often met with, but there is a copy in the Bodleian Library It is not of great extent, but the rules are illustrated by examples, taken, it is affirmed, from different authors unluckily the authors are not named, and it would be a work of time and labour to identify the passages cited apparently there are some from the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana, and from the writings of Kalidása but there is nothing sufficiently ascertained to warrant any inference of the date of the composition

The date of the Dasa Kumára Charita is not the only circumstance connected with it of a questionable character The very name of the author suggests an uncertainty Dandí properly designates a "staff bearer", but is commonly applied to a sect of religious mendicants, who profess to be the spiritual descen-

The same is not pretended of the Sesha, or Supplement to the Charita, a continuation and conclusion of the stories This is the avowed composition of Chakrapani Dikshita, a Mahratta Brahman, and is written in a style which aspires to surpass that of the original While, however, more laboriously constructed, and, in consequence, more difficult of interpretation, it falls very far short of its model in purity and vigour, and, as the narrative is puerile and meagre, it offers nothing to repay the trouble of its perusal It is of considerable length, and on that account, as well as of its want of interest, it has not been thought desirable to perpetuate it by the press

The introductory portion of the Dasa Kumara Charita has been twice remodelled and arranged, in an abbreviated form and in verse One of these versions was made by a celebrated Dakhiní writer, Appa or Appaya Díkshita, the author of a standard work on rhetoric, the Kuvalayananda He was patronised by Krishna Raya, Rájá of Vijayanágara, in the beginning of the sixteenth century* This abridgment was printed at Serampore in 1804, along with the Hitopadesa and the Satakas of Bhartri Hari A similar metrical abridgment of the introduction bears the name of Vináyaka, but nothing more is known of the author Both these abridgment are sce exedingly inferior to the original in style and in interest Neither contains more than two hundred slokas, and they are both too

* [Lassen IV, p 829]

fligacy that invades private happiness, nor the superstition that bows down before imaginary divinities, but loose principles and lax morals, and implicit faith in the power of occult rites and magical incantations. The picture does not want some redeeming traits, and the heroes are described as endowed with enterprise and hardihood, with inviolable devotedness to their friends and kindred, and with tender and constant attachment to the objects of their affection. The opportunities which are afforded to the youth of both sexes of forming connexions are of remarkable facility, and the absence of any intimation that the bonds which are so easily contracted are to be considered of brief duration, gives a character of respectability to the very informal unions which take place. The parties however, it must be remembered, are of those classes —the regal and military—among whom marriage by mutual consent, the Gandharba viváha, is a recognised legal compact.

The work presents a great number of names of cities and principalities, of which few vestiges remain. They are to be found, however, in the Puranas, in the travels of the Chinese in the fourth and sixth centuries, and in the records of the Rajput states, and no doubt define the political divisions of the country which subsisted from a remote period until the subversion of the whole by the tide of Mohammedan invasion. In this respect the work may be considered of historical value, as adding contemporary testimony to the correctness of the political position of a considerable part

of India, as derived from other sources of information A brief sketch of the substance of the stories will best illustrate the light which they are calculated to reflect upon the social and political condition of India during probably the first ten centuries of our æra

The introduction to the Dasa Kumara brings us acquainted with Rajahansa, king of Magadha, or South Behar, the capital of which is Pushpapura, another name for Pátaliputra the ancient Palibothra and modern Patna, the identity of which, generally admitted, has been recently confirmed by the discovery of the course of the old bed of the Sone river, which united with the Ganges in the immediate vicinity of the city, conformably to the statement of Arrian, that Palibothra was situated near the confluence of the Erranoboas (the Hiranyabahu, a synonym of the Sone) and the Ganges For this conclusive evidence we are indebted to Mr Ravenshaw, of the Bengal Civil Service (Memorandum on the ancient bed of the Sone, J As Soc B No 158) The term Pushpa putra, the Flower city, is synonymous with Kusumapura, and is essentially the same with what should probably be the correct reading, Paťali-pura, the Trumpet flower city A legend as old as the eleventh century, being narrated in the Katha sarit Sagara, published and translated by Mr Brockhaus, has been invented, to account for the name Patali putra, but this has evidently been suggested by the corruption of the name, and does not account for it That Patna was called Kusumapura, the Flower city, at a late period, we know from the

Chinese-Buddhist travellers, through whom the name Ku-su-mo-pu-lo became familiar to their countrymen*.

Rajahansa, having engaged in warfare with Manasara, the Raja of Malava (Malwa), was, in the first instance, victorious, but was finally defeated, and obliged to take shelter in the Vindhya forests, where his wife gave birth to a son, Rajavahana. The Raja had three hereditary ministers (Kulamatyas)—a peculiarity in the tenure of office under Government, of which the modern history of Hindu princes affords examples—named Dharmapala, Padmodbhava, and Sitavarma. Of these, the first had three sons, Sumantra, Sumitra, and Kamapála, Padmodbhava, the second, had two, Susruta and Ratnodbhava, and the third, Sitavarmá, two, Sumati and Satyavarma. Of these, Kamapála, whose habits were dissolute, Ratnodbhava, who was curious of foreign travel, and Satyavarma, who was of an ascetic temperament, withdrew from court, and wandered about the world, the other four remained with the king, and, upon the death of their fathers, succeeded to their stations. They partook of their master's fortune, and attended him in his retreat, and when the prince Rajavahana was born, they also had each a son. Sumantra had Mitragupta, Sumitra, Mantragupta, Susruta had Visruta, and Sumati, Pramati. During Rájahansa's forest abode, also, there were brought to him or to his queen, on different occasions, five other youths, making, with the sons of the

* [Prof. F. E. Hall, l. l. p. 30 f. and in the Journal As. Soc. Bengal 1862, p. 6.]

four ministers and Rajavahana, the Ten Kumaras Three of these were Arthapala, Pushpodbhava, and Somadatta, the sons, respectively, of the absent ministers, Kamapala, Ratnodbhava, and Satyavarma, and the other two were Apaharavarma and Upaharavarma, who were the sons of Praharavarma, the king of Mithila or North Behar, and friend of Rájahansa Coming to the succour of his friend, he had been involved in his misfortune, and, attempting to regain his country with the reliques of his force, he had been attacked by the foresters, the Savaras, and lost his baggage and attendants His two children also fell into the hands of the barbarous tribes, and one of them was about to be offered as a victim to Chandi, when he was saved by the timely interposition of a Brahman The sacrifice of human victims by the tribes inhabiting the hills and forests of South Behar is often alluded to in the fictions of this date, and the practice, we know, still prevails among some of them, although it seems to have been driven farther to the South, being most prevalent among the Khonds of Gumsir It is not long since, however, that proofs of its existence on the frontiers of the Jangal Mahals were brought to the knowledge of the British functionaries

The nine boys thus assembled were educated along with the prince, and became his constant associates The particulars of their education present a curious detail of what were considered, no doubt, essentially princely acquirements The use of various tongues, skill in arms, and the management of horses and ele-

phants, acquaintance with tradition, with the rules of polity, with rhetoric and logic, and with music, are qualifications sufficiently appropriate, but we should scarcely have expected to find the list extended to metaphysics, law, and the Vedas, and still less to astrology, medicine, magic, to proficiency in games of skill or chance, and dexterity in thieving, yet such is the author's beau ideal of princely training, and his narratives exhibit the practical application of those accomplishments It is worthy of observation, as part of the internal evidence of the date of the work, that, besides the specification of the Vedas, Itihasa, and Puranas, the writings of Kautilya, more commonly called Chanakya, and the Kamandaki, are specified as the authorities for the science of Niti, or polity

As soon as Rajavahana and his associates had attained a sufficient age, Rajahansa, in obedience to the injunctions of a pious Brahman, allowed them to set off to see the world They departed together, but, in the course of a few days, Rajavahana was induced by a stranger Brahman to leave his companions privately, and assist him in obtaining the sovereignty of the subterranean regions, or Patala The enterprise succeeds, but when the prince returns to the spot where he had left his friends, they are all gone Alarmed by his disappearance, the youths had taken different directions in quest of the missing prince, and hence they severally met with separate adventures, the relation of which, when they at last find Rajavahana, constitutes *the matter of the Dasa Kumara Charita*

The first whom prince Rajavahana, roaming in search of his friends, encounters, is Somadatta This youth has been instrumental in releasing the daughter of the Raja of Ujjayini from the hands of the Raja of Láta, to whom she had been reluctantly conceded as a bride by her father, and has defeated the forces of Lata, and killed the king in single combat, in requital of which exploits the Raja of Ujjayiní gives his daughter to Somadatta, and adopts him as Yuvaraja, his colleague and successor He is on his way with his bride to the temple of Mahákala, when he falls in with his prince Mahákála was one of the twelve Siva Lingas, which were in high repute about the time of the Mohammedan invasion The country of Lata was better known, apparently, to ancient than to modern geography, being the Lar or Larike of Ptolemy, and applied to the country south of the Nerbudda, and along the Taptí, corresponding with Nimaur and Khandesh*

While yet in company with Somadatta, Rajavahana is joined by another of his companions, Pushpodbhava This adventurer, in the course of his peregrinations, was surprised by the fall of a man from a precipice upon his head, who proved to be his father, the merchant Ratnodbhava, the son of the minister, the elder Pushpodbhava, who had been wrecked on his voyage from the island of Kalayavana sixteen years before, and having, on that occasion, lost his wife, had been miserable ever since, until at last, unable to support

* [Lassen Ind Alt III, 170 ff]

his affliction longer, he casts himself from a rock, and is picked up by his son Presently afterwards Pushpodbhava prevents a woman from burning herself, who proves to be his mother; and having brought his parents together he conveys them to Ujjayini Here he falls in love with a merchant's daughter, whom he meets at the house of a friend, and she returns his affection She is wooed, however, by the Prince of Ujjayini, Daruvarma, and is apprehensive of his violence By Pushpodbhava's advice, she gives out that her chamber is haunted by a Yaksha, an evil spirit, and that she will wed the person who shall free her from his presense Daruvarmá defies the goblin, and is visited by the damsel, when Pushpodbhava, disguised as a female attendant, beats him to death The catastrophe is ascribed to the wrath of the spirit, and no further inquiry is made the ceremony of exorcism is performed, and Pushpodbhava marries the damsel This story turns upon a superstition common in the East, and familiar to us in the adventures of Tobias, although in this case it is employed very coolly as the pretext of murder Daruvarmá is represented, however, as odious for his profligacy and tyranny, and the infliction of deserved punishment is considered as justificatory of the crime

Rajavahana resides for some time with his friends at Ujjayini, when he beholds, at the festival of Kamadeva, Avantisundari, the daughter of Manasara, the conqueror of his paternal kingdom, but who had resigned his sovereignty to his son Darpasara He again

had gone to Rajagiri to perform austere penance, and had appointed his cousins Daruvarma and Chandravarma in his place during his absence. The former of these, as has been just mentioned, has been killed, and Chandravarma reigns alone. The princess and Rajavahana are mutually smitten, and, through the contrivance of a friendly magician, are legally married in the actual presence of Chandravarma, the viceroy being made to believe that the scene is a mere delusion. With this incident terminates the Purva Píthika, or Introductory Section.

The first section of the body of the work represents Rájaváhana as domesticated in the interior apartments of the palace as the husband of Avantisundari. During their repose the prince and his bride are disturbed by a dream, and on awaking, find the feet of the Prince firmly bound by silver fetters. The princess is imprudently vociferous in the expression of her terror, and the attendants echo her clamour so loudly as to alarm the guard, who enter and discover Rajaváhana. Chandravarma commands Rájaváhana to be put to death, but the execution is prohibited by the interposition of Manasára, who, although abdicated, exercises some influence over his son's deputy, and has no objection to Rajaváhana as a son-in-law. Chandravarmá confines Rájaváhana in a wooden cage, and refers his sentence to Darpasára, who is engaged in austerities at Rájagiri, and in the meantime marches against Sinhavarma, the king of Anga, and besieges his capital, Champa, a name still preserved by a village in the

neighbourhood of Bhagalpur Rajavahana in his cage accompanies the march Sinhavarma, sallying from Champa, is taken prisoner, and the city falls into the hands of the victor, so does the Princess Ambalika, of whom Chandravarma is enamoured, and whom he determines to wed

After the action, a messenger arrives from Darpasara, commanding that Rajavahana shall be put to death without delay Chandravarmá accordingly orders that while he goes to solemnize his nuptials Rajavahana shall be brought forth to be thrown under the feet of a fierce elephant While expecting the execution of the sentence, the chain falls from the feet of Rájavahana, and becomes a nymph of air—an Apsaras—condemned to that form by the anger of a Muni whom she had offended, and picked up by Manasara, a genius of the air, one of the Vidyadharas, to whom Avantisundarí had been promised by her brother Finding, in one of his nocturnal peregrinations, that the lady had chosen another lord, Manasara imposed the fetters on Rajavahana, and caused his detection The time of the nymph's transformation has now expired, and she takes her departure, leaving Rajavahana at liberty, having been previously removed from his cage

A clamour now arises that Chandravarma has been killed Rajavahana, in the confusion, mounts the elephant appointed to crush him, strikes down the driver, turns the animal towards the palace, and invites aloud the brave man who has slain the tyrant to come

to him for protection The murderer accepts the sum-mons, rushes through the crowd, springs upon the elephant, and proves to be one of the Prince's friends Apaháravarmá They defend themselves valiantly against the followers of Chandravarmá, until intelligence is brought of the arrival of Sinhavarmá's allies, with a host before which the troops of Ujjayiní have fled Their safety, and that of the king of Champá, is now ensured Among the allies of the latter, Rájaváhana finds all the rest of his old companions, and by his desire they severally relate to him their adventures

Apaháravarma's story forms the subject of the second book, and is perhaps the best in the collection, being more rich than the others in varied incidents Searching for the prince, he repairs to a celebrated hermit, Maríchi to consult him where Rájaváhana is to be found Maríchi desires him to remain at Champa, and he will hear of his friend, and entertains him with his own adventures, having been beguiled into the love of a courtesan named Kámamanjarí, who had wagered her liberty with another of her class that she would lead the holy man into folly She succeeds, persuades him to accompany her to the city, wins her wager, laughs at her lover, and sends him back to his hermitage overwhelmed with shame and self reproach The story presents a curious picture of the pains taken with the education of public women Not only were their health, their physical development, and personal beauty attended to, not only were the grace-

of deportment and elegance of attire and ornament sedulously studied, but their intellectual training was an equal object of vigilance, and they were taught a variety of subjects calculated to heighten their fascination and strengthen their understanding. Dancing, music, and acting formed their profession, and they were also taught to paint, to dress delicate dishes, to compound fragrant perfumes, and to dispose tastily of flowers, to play various games, to read, to write, and to speak different languages, and they were instructed superficially, it is said, in grammar, logic, metaphysics. A remarkable picture is also drawn of the devices resorted to, to bring them into public consideration, many of which may find a parallel in the contrivances by which public performers in European countries are sometimes forced into popularity. Apaharavarma, piqued by her cleverness, determines to humble the conceit of Kamamanjarí, and sets off to Champa.

On arriving near Champa, Apaháravarmá finds a man by the road side apparently in great distress. He proves to be another victim of Kámamanjarí's arts, formerly an opulent merchant, but ruined by his attachment to her, and he is now an inmate of a Buddhist convent. He is called, from his ugliness, Virúpaka. He repents his abandonment of the faith of his ancestors, and is desirous of returning to it. Apaháravarma recommends him to remain as he is for a short time, until he shall be replaced in possession of his property, which he undertakes to recover. The

incident is worthy of notice, as indicating the cotemporary existence of the Buddhists at the date of the work, and an additional confirmation, therefore, of its not being later than the tenth or eleventh century, as after that period notices of Buddhists by Hindu writers are rare and inaccurate

Having proceeded into the city, Apaharavarma enters into a gambling-house, such places being licensed under Hindu rule Here he wins a considerable sum of money, and establishes his credit both for skill in play and for liberality, distributing half his winnings among the assistants He then sallies forth well armed to perpetrate house-breaking, another of the accomplishments of princely education, but falls in with a young and beautiful woman, Kulapálika, the daughter of Kuveradatta, who has run away from home to avoid a marriage with Arthapati, a rich merchant, to whom her father has promised her, having previously betrothed her to Dhanamitra, also a merchant, but who has become impoverished by his munificence He is still the object of Kulapálika's affection, and she is on her way to her lover when encountered by Apaharavarma He sympathizes with her distress, and conducts her to Dhanamitra, with whom he becomes united in most intimate friendship, and to whose union with Kulapaliká he engages to obtain her father's consent In furtherance of this scheme they take Kulapalika home, and with her aid plunder her father's house of every thing of value They leave the damsel at home, and return to the house of Dhanamitra, plundering the

residence of Arthapati on their way, and concealing their booty in a thicket

The loss of property has the effect of suspending Kulapalika's marriage, and in the meantime Dhanamitra, by desire of his friend, takes an old leather purse to the Raja of Anga, and tells him that, having repaired to a forest to put an end to his life, in consequence of her father's refusing to grant Kulapalika to him, he was met by a holy man, who withheld him from self destruction, and presented him with a purse, which, he said, in the hands of a merchant or a courtesan who should not have wrongfully appropriated the property of others, would prove a source of inexhaustible wealth—the purse, in fact, of Fortunatus This he offers to the King, who not only declines to accept it, but promises to protect him in its safe possession The story spreads, and its truth is confirmed by the return of Dhanamitra to his former profuse liberality, the funds of which are derived from the stolen property Among others, Kuveradatta, hearing of Dhanamitra's recovered affluence, grows cold to Arthapati, and gives his daughter to her former affianced husband

Shortly afterwards, Ragamanjarí, the younger sister of Kámamanjarí, makes her appearance as a public performer, with great success and with unsullied reputation She and Apaharavarmá become mutually enamoured, but their union is prevented by her mother and sister, who look upon Apaharavarma as a pauper The objection is overcome by his undertaking

to steal the "inexhaustible purse", and give it to Kámamanjarí, provided she fulfil the condition of restoring their property to those whom she had reduced to poverty Accordingly the Buddhist Virupaka recovers his wealth

Dhanamitra, acting in concert with Apahâravarma, complains to the Rájá of the loss of his purse, and after a time Kámamanjarí is called before the Raja and accused of the theft At the suggestion of Apahâravarma the crime is imputed to Arthapati, who is consequently banished, and whose property is confiscated

Apaháravarma, in a fit of extravagant bravado, attacks the patrol, and is taken prisoner The charge of the gaol has lately devolved on Kántaka, a vain young man, who threatens the prisoner with eighteen kinds of torture and final death, unless he restores all the wealth he has stolen, and particularly the inexhaustible purse, which he is said to have carried off The Raja, at Dhanamitra's request, promises him liberty if he will restore it In the meantime Ragamanjari and the Raja's daughter Ambaliká have become intimate friends, and the latter is prepared to share the affections of Apaháravarma The latter has a rival in Kántaka, who flatters himself that the Princess loves him He is encouraged in this belief by Srigálika, the nurse of Ragamanjari, and emissary of Apaháravarma, who also persuades him that the lines in his hand announce his elevation to the kingdom, and that if he could make his way into the interior of the palace, which adjoins the gaol, Ambaliká would wed him. He

taka applies to Apahāravarma, as a skilful house-breaker, to help him, promising to set him free, but secretly purposing, as he informs Sṛigālikā, to confine him again and put him to death. Apahāravarma consents, and makes an excavation under the prison walls, by which he and Kantaka might pass into the palace, but he takes an opportunity of killing Kantaka, in anticipation of the deadly project entertained by the latter, and proceeds alone into the apartments of the Princess. He finds her asleep, delineates his portrait on the wall, with a verse imparting a hope that she may not suffer the pangs of love by which he is afflicted, and returns to the prison. He then liberates the former governor, who was also in detention there, and, with his consent, makes his escape.

Ambalikā, on waking, beholds the drawing, and reads the verse, and is enamoured of the author. Her union with him is accomplished, when Chaṇḍavarma besieges Champā, and, after the capture of the Rajá, seizes the person of the Princess, and compels her submission to a public celebration of their nuptials. Apahāravarma, having directed his friend Dhanamitra privately to assemble a party of citizens round the palace, passes into it in the garb of one of the attendants, and, as Chaṇḍavarma attempts to take the shrinking hand of Ambalikā, approaches and stabs him. In the confusion he snatches up Ambalikā, and carries her to his friends, under whose protection he gains the innermost chambers, and prepares to defend himself, when he hears of the arrival of Rájavāhana,

whom he joins in the manner above described This closes the second section, constituting a large proportion of the whole

In the third chapter the other son of the king of Mithila, Upaharavarma, narrates his adventures He had repaired to his own country, Mithila, in search of the Prince, and thus met with a female ascetic, who proved to have been his nurse who lost him in the woods in the manner related in the Introduction His father, Praharavarma, on returning, found his kingdom occupied by the sons of his elder brother, with Vikaṭavarma at their head, and has been defeated by them and thrown into prison, together with his queen. Upaharavarmá determines to effect their rescue, and, through the agency of his nurse's daughter, contrives to win the affections of Vikaṭavarma's queen, offended by the dissolute manners of her husband At the suggestion of Upaharavarma she persuades the Raja, who is remarkable for his ugliness and deformity, that a mystical rite has been communicated to her, by which he may be transformed into perfect symmetry and beauty He falls into the snare, and is murdered by Upaharavarma, who then openly assumes his throne as the metamorphosed Raja The intended change had been made the subject of previous report, and its possibility, through the power of magic, was not doubted —a probable illustration of the credulous superstition of the author's times The belief of the ministers is confirmed, also by Upaharavarma's acquaintance with certain secret projects of his predecessors, which he

had revealed to the Rání as a preliminary condition of his transformation They are all of an iniquitous tenor, and are reversed by Upaháravarmá, with the applause of his counsellors Among these was the intention of defrauding a Yavana merchant of the fair price of a very valuable diamond which he has for sale—a notice which is interesting as a proof of the intercourse of foreign traders, Arabs or Persians, with India before the Mohammedan conquest Another was, the purpose of taking off the Rája Prahároavarmá by poison—a crime which justifies Upaháravarmá's proceedings He sets his parents at liberty, and places his father on the throne, receiving from him the office of Yuvaraja, in which capacity he commands the army sent by the Rájá of Mithila to the aid of the Rája of Anga and, consequently, meets with Rájaváhana

The fourth chapter contains the story of Arthapála's adventures, comprising those also of his father, Kámapála, the son of one of Rajahansa's ministers who had early disappeared from court, and who is now King of Kasí, or Benares, which city Arthapála visits We find the celebrated ghát Manikarnika named, but instead of Visveswara, the form of Siva now worshipped there, we have an older appellation, one found in several of the Puranas, or Avimukteswara* Arthapála encounters a man in deep affliction, and, inquiring the cause, learns that he is in despair on ac

* [e g Śiva Pur II c 43 Matsya Pur c 167 A Weber Ind Stud II 73 ff]

count of the danger of Kámapála, late minister of the King of Kásí, who had been his benefactor Having been struck by the strength and resolution of this man, named Purnabhadra, in baffling and putting to flight an elephant by whom he was to be put to death for thieving, Kamapála pardoned him, took him into his confidence, and told him his adventures Having quitted Pushpapura he came to Benares, where he beheld the Princess Kantimatí, the daughter of Chandasinha A love match takes place between them, the result of which is the birth of Arthapala, who is secretly removed and exposed in a cemetery, where he is found by Táravalí, a Yakshiní, who carries him to the Queen of Rajahansa, as mentioned in the Introduction The intrigue is discovered by the Rája, and Kamapála is seized, and is to be put to death He makes his escape, and hides in the forests, where Taravalí, who had been his wife in two preceding births, when he bore the names of Saunaka and Sudraka, comes to his succour, and again becomes his bride With her aid he gains unperceived admission into the sleeping apartments of Chandasinha, wakes him from his sleep, and intimidates him into acknowledging him as his son-in-law, and as Yuvaraja On his death his son Chandaghosha becomes Rajá, with Kámapala's assent, and on his dying early the latter inaugurates Sinhaghosha, the son of Chandaghosha, as king A faction is formed against the minister, and the prince is persuaded that he has caused the death of his predecessors, and will attempt his life if not anticipated Kamapála is there

fore seized, and ordered for execution Púrnabhadra, in despair, is about to put an end to himself

While Arthapala considers how he may rescue his father, a poisonous snake shews itself, which he, safe in his knowledge of mantras or charms, secures With this he departs to where his father is led to his fate, and in the crowd throws the snake upon him, which bites him, and he falls apparently lifeless, the fatal operation of the venom being counteracted by Arthapala's magical powers He is supposed to be dead, and is carried to his dwelling His wife Kántimatí, privily apprized, through Purnabhadra, of her son's device, obtains permission to burn herself with the body, and a pile is constructed in the court-yard of Kamapála's house within an enclosure, into which Kántimatí enters alone—peculiarities in the performance of the Satí unknown to the practice of later years Kámapála, resuscitated and reunited to his wife and son, collects his friends, and puts his dwelling into an attitude of defence The Rajá, hearing of his recovery, besieges him Arthapála constructs a tunnel leading to the royal palace, with the intention of carrying off Chandaghosha when half way through he comes upon a spacious subterranean chamber, where Manikarniká, the daughter of Chandaghosha, had been secreted by her grandfather, who destined her to be the bride of Darpasára, the son of Mánasára, King of Málava, and had shut her up that she might not make a different election for herself Chandasinha had died, however, without accomplishing his object, and Mani-

karnika, with her nurse and attendants, had continued in their hiding-place, well supplied with all necessaries, but in other respects unnoticed, until she had attained a marriageable age. Arthapála, although he admires the princess, pursues his purpose, and, by the communication with the subterranean chambers, enters into the Raja's sleeping apartment, and carries him a prisoner back to the dwelling of Kamapála, who then administers the kingdom. The Princess is married to Arthapála, who becomes Yuvaraja, and leads an army to the assistance of the King of Anga.

The fifth section relates the adventures of Pramati, who is here represented as the son of Kamapala by the Yakshiní Tarávalí, and not, as in the Introduction, the son of Sumati. Arthapála is there also called the son of Tarávalí, while, as we have seen in the preceding narrative, he is described as the son of Kantimatí. Either the author has been nodding, or the Introduction is the work of a different writer, who has been heedless or forgetful of the narrative of his predecessor. While on his journey Pramati is benighted in a forest on the Vindhya mountains, and, recommending himself to the protection of the local divinities, goes to sleep beneath a tree. While asleep he fancies himself transported to the interior of a palace, where a princess is sleeping among her attendant damsels, that he reclines beside her, that she awakes, and they exchange looks, but fall asleep again. When he wakes he finds himself still in the forest. There presently appears to him a nymph, who declares herself to be Tá-

ravali, the bride of Kámapala, who had left his house in anger, and had consequently become an evil spirit for a twelvemonth The term of her penance had expired on the preceding evening, and she was on her way to the neighbouring city of Sravastí, when she was arrested by Pramati's invocation, and conveyed him to the chamber of Navamaliká, daughter of Dharmavarddhana, Raja of Srávasti In the morning, before dawn, she brings him back to the forest, and then recognises him as her own son by Kámapala She leaves him to seek his fortune, and he repairs to Sravastí to endeavour to obtain the hand of the princess On the way he stops at a cock fight, and there contracts a friendship with an old Brahman He then proceeds to Sravastí, where, in a garden in the suburbs, he is noticed by one of the attendants of the princess, who has a portrait in her hand, which proves to be his own It is the work of Navamaliká, who has delineated it in the hope of discovering the original, whom she has seen, as she supposes, in a dream A plan is devised to effect their union The old Brahman takes Pramati, in the dress of a female, to the Rája, and introduces him as his daughter, who has been betrothed some time, but whose bridegroom is absent The pretended father therefore professes to go in search of him, and asks to leave his daughter in the care of the Rája, to which the latter consents Pramati thus obtains access to his mistress After a short time he contrives to make his escape and assume his own semblance, and returns with the Brahman as his son in-

law to claim his bride The bride, however, is not forthcoming, and the Rája, to divert the dreaded imprecation of the Brahman, consents to give his own daughter as a substitute for the missing damsel Pramati thus becomes the son-in-law of the Rája, and leads his troops to Anga, where he finds his prince

Mitragupta next narrates his proceedings, in the sixth section, at Damaliptá, in the Suhma country, the king of which is Tungadhanwá By propitiating Vindhyavásiní he obtains two children, a son and a daughter, on condition that the former shall be subordinate to the husband of the latter and that the daughter shall annually exhibit her skill in playing at ball, in honour of the goddess, until she meets with her destined husband, of whom she is to be allowed the free choice She is called Kandukavatí, her brother, Bhímadhanwá Mitragupta beholds the pastime of the princess, which is described with singular minuteness of detail, and they become mutually enamoured carrying on a communication through Chandrasená, the foster sister of the princess, who is the object of the young prince's affection, but who is attached to a different person, one Koshadása Mitragupta forms an intimate friendship with him and devises schemes for their joint success, when he is seized by order of Bhímadhanwá, and thrown, fettered, into the sea With the aid of a strong plank he floats until he is picked up by a Yavana vessel, apparently intimating an Arab ship He has not changed his lot to advantage, and is about to be maltreated, when the vessel is attacked by

another ship from the shore Mitragupta encourages the crew to resist, and, being let loose, animates them to board and capture their assailant, the captain of which proves to be Bhímadhanwa He is taken on board the Yavana vessel and confined, when a contrary wind rises and carries the ship out of her course to a distant island abounding with fruit and fresh water They anchor, and Mitragupta goes on shore He meets with a Rakshas, who threatens to kill him unless he answers correctly to the questions, What is that which is naturally cruel? What is the great wish of a householder? What is love? What overcomes difficulties? To which he replies severally, The heart of a woman A virtuous wife, Determination to possess Intelligence, and illustrates his replies by four narratives, of each of which a woman is the heroine These narratives present some curious pictures of manners, and several incidents which are to be found in other compilations, particularly the third story, in which the wife of a merchant is made to appear, in the estimation of her husband and the Panchayat, or Council of the city, a Dakiní, or woman who obtains supernatural powers by an impure intercourse with the spirits of ill, who haunt the ground where the dead are buried The point of the story is found in the first narrative of the Baital Pachisi

The Rakshas is pleased by the stories he hears and promises Mitragupta his friendship He is presently called upon to prove it A brother Rákshas is seen in the sky, carrying off a female, evidently against

her will Mitragupta's friend ascends to the rescue, and the ravisher drops the damsel, who proves to be Kandukávatí Mitraguptá sets sail with her, and arrives at Dámaliptá in time to save the lives of the King and Queen and all the chief citizens, who had vowed to starve themselves to death on the banks of the Ganges He restores the Princess and her brother to their parents, and is gladly accepted by them as their son-in-law Tungadhanwá is one of the allies of Anga, and Mitragupta has come to Champá in command of his troops

The adventures of Mantragupta form the subject of the seventh chapter He arrives at Kalinga, and goes to sleep on the edge of a lake bordered by a thicket contiguous to the burning ground of the dead He is wakened by a conversation between two goblins relating to a Siddha, an ascetic, who has acquired magical powers, and, curious to know what it means, follows them privily to where their master is seated, decorated with ornaments of human bones, smeared with ashes, wearing braided hair, and feeding a fire by dropping into it, with his left hand, seeds of mustard and sesamum At his command the Princess of Kalinga, Karnalekhá, is brought by one of his ministering demons before him The ascetic seizes her by the hair, and is about to cut off her head, when Mantragupta rushes upon him, and decapitates him with his own sword He hides the head and hair in the hollow of a tree The spirits present, wearied of the tyranny and cruelty of the magician, praise the youth for his cou-

riage, and declare themselves his servants He desires them to convey the Princess to her apartments, but she implores him to accompany her, and they are both carried into the palace, where Mantragupta remains undiscovered

The King of Kalinga, Kardana, moves in the hot season with his family and suite to the sea-shore, to spend a few days encamped upon the sand While amusing himself with songs and music and merry-making he is suddenly attacked by the flotilla of the King of Andhra, and, with his wife and daughter, carried prisoner to Andhra, leaving Mantragupta overwhelmed with despair He hears after a short time, that Jayasimha, the King of Andhra, wooes Karnalekha to become his queen A report, however, prevails that a Yaksha loves the Princess, and that unless he can be put to flight by a powerful sorcerer, the Raja s suit cannot be safely prosecuted Mantragupta avails himself of the hint, and sets off for Andhra in the character of a magician, dressed in the tangled hair of the Siddha whom he had decapitated, and accompanied by disciples who spread his reputation through the country The King soon hears of his fame, and applies to him for aid After some pretended hesitation, he desires the Raja to plunge at midnight into a neighbouring pond, having previously had it dragged to remove all its living creatures, and surrounded it at some little distance by guards to prevent any one s approach. By doing this, and in consequence of the

magic rites which he, the pretended sorcerer, has practised, he will issue forth with a person entirely metamorphosed, and such as the Yaksha will be unable to resist With these instructions the pretended ascetic takes his leave of the Raja, professing that he has tarried longer than was consistent with his religious observances in the same place, He accordingly sends off his followers, but secretes himself in a hollow which he has previously dug in the bank of the pond The King conforms to the directions he has received, but, when he is under water, is seized by Mantragupta, and stifled His body is concealed in the hollow, and his enemy comes forth from the water as representing the Raja The guards, deeming it impossible that any other person could have issued from the pond, acquiesce quietly in the substitution, and escort Mantragupta to the palace, where he privately communicates the truth to the princess and her parents, and, with their concurrence, marries Karnalekha according to the ritual Her father, Kardana, becomes King of both Andhra and Kalinga and sends his son in law to succour his ally the Rajá of Anga

One incident of this story, the transformation of the person, is repeated from the story of Upaharavarma, but the narrative is peculiar in the locality of the incidents, the sea coast of Kalinga, and in making Andhra, the ancient Telingana, a maritime power There is also an allusion to the predominance of heretical opinions, either Buddhist or Jain, in Andhra, as Man-

tragupta, when Rája, orders the temples of Śiva, Yama, Vishnu, and other gods, to be reverenced, to the discomfiture and shame of the infidels or Nastikas

The last of the narratives is attributed to Visruta, who while wandering in the Vindhya forest, meets with the young Prince of Vidarbha, or Berar, and extricates his solitary attendant from a well into which he had fallen while seeking to procure water for the boy who is exhausted with hunger and thirst The Prince is of the family of Bhoja his grand-father, Punyavarma is described as a Prince of superior merit, but his father Anantavarmá, is led by vicious companions into habits of dissipation, which end in the loss of his kingdom and life The arguments which are urged by one of his favourites in behalf of idle pleasures and in detraction of grave advisers and ministers while they speak the language of the profligate in all ages, afford some curious insight into the abuses of official authority which prevailed in Indian Governments at the time of the composition There is also, in the account of the feudatories of Anantavarmá whose disaffection is the cause of his death, an interesting enumeration of the principalities bordering on Berar to the north and west Some of them must be identical in topographical situation with the provinces of the Mahratta principality, but the name Mahratta does not occur It is found in older writings as Mahárashtra but the kingdom appears to have been broken up in the middle ages into a number of petty states,

among whom the ancient name was forgotten, or was applied to the people, not to the territory, a circumstance which is equally applicable to modern times in which we have "the Marhattas", the people of Khandesh, Poona, and the Konkan, not of Maharashtra

After the death of Anantavarma his Queen, Vasundhara, with her daughter, Manjuvadini and her son Bhaskaravarma, take refuge with the half brother of her husband, Mitravarmá, Prince of Mhishmati. He plots against his nephew's life, and the Rani sends her son into the thickets with one of her attendants. They are suffering greatly from hunger and thirst, when Visruta encounters them, and relieves their necessities. He proves to be a kinsman of the Prince's mother, and engages to replace him in his father's kingdom. He therefore sends her servant back to Vasundhara, to inform her of what has chanced and desires her to spread a report that the Prince has been devoured by a tiger. He sends her also a poisoned chaplet, with which he directs her to strike Mitravarma on the head, exclaiming that it will prove fatal only if she has been a faithful wife, and then, washing the garland, she is to apply it to her daughter's person, when it will prove innocuous. The death of Mitravarma is accordingly considered by the people to be the consequence of his guilt, not of any treacherous practice. The principality is taken possession of by Prachandavarma, who demands Manjuvadini in marriage, a demand with which the Queen, by Visruta's advice, feigns to comply.

sruta and his charge, in the disguise of Saiva ascetics, then repair to Vidarbha, where the former attires himself as a juggler, and mixing with a crowd of dancers and posture masters, by whom Prachandavarmá is surrounded, exhibits various feats of sleight of hand and activity among other things, he plays with knive, and tossing one of them in the direction of Prachandavarma, it penetrates his breast and kills him In the confusion Visruta escapes, resumes his garb, and hides himself with the young Prince in an old temple of Durga, where he contrives the means of entering it unobserved, and concealing himself underneath the pedestal of the image The Rání, in obedience to a pretended vision, repairs to the temple, attended by all the chief people of Mahishmatí, in whose presence she has the interior examined and the doors closed After an interval the doors are opened from within, and Visruta and the Prince appear The former tells the people that he is the minister of the goddess, and is commanded by her to announce to them that she was pleased, in the form of a tigress, to carry off the Prince, in order more effectually to save him from his enemies, but as they are now removed, she restores him to their homage He is accordingly recognised as Rájá, and Visruta marrying Manjuvádiní, he becomes the chief manager of the principality The last incident may be regarded as evidence of the profane uses to which the divinities of the Hindus were sometimes made subservient The new Minister proceeds to take

measures for recovering Vidarbha, which has been seized by the King of the Asmakas, and we may conclude that he is victorious, but the work terminates abruptly, and leaves the denouement to the imagination. The deficiency is supplied by Gopínatha, who not only carries on the story of Visruta to the end, but takes the united Princes to Pataliputra, and re-establishes Rajahansa in his kingdom. We might have annexed his supplement, but the narrative is not of great interest, and the only copy of the work available is far from accurate. It has been thought better, therefore, to close with Dandí's own composition.

III

(Continued from p 276)*

MEDICAL AND SURGICAL SCIENCES OF THE HINDUS

From the Oriental Magazine Vol I (1823) p 349—56

HAVING established the fact of Surgical Science being known, as a distinct branch of Medicine, to the early writers of the Hindus, we come to the consideration of the extent and manner, in which it was practised According to our own system, and to all correct principle, we should for this purpose ascertain, in the first instance, what degree of acquaintance they possessed with Anatomy, on which alone rational Surgery is founded Such however is not their mode of conducting the enquiry, and as we are endeavouring to trace their systems, and not those of a more enlightened period, we may be satisfied to waive this topic for the present, and adopt the course their own authorities pursue

The practical part of the subject of Surgery is pre-

* [We regret that the second portion of this Essay came too late to hand for insertion in the proper place]

ceded by a few general remarks, in which, amidst many erroneous notions, we trace some justness of classification, and soundness of principle "Living bodies are composed,' it is said*, "of the five elements, with action or life superadded they are produced from vapour, vegetation, incubation, and parturition, as insects, plants, birds, fishes, reptiles, and animals All the Hindu systems consider vegetable bodies as endowed with life Of animals, man is the chief, and in proportion to his complicated structure is his liability to disease The disorders of the human frame are of four kinds, accidental, organic, intellectual and natural The injuries arising from external causes form the first class The second comprehends the effects of the vitiated humours, or derangements of the blood, bile, wind, and phlegm The third class is occasioned by the operation of the passions, or the effects on the constitution of rage fear, sorrow, joy, and others, and the last is referable to the necessary and innate condition of our being, as thirst, hunger, sleep, old age, and decay

"The judicious alleviation of human infirmities, the means of which were compassionately revealed by the gods, can only be effected by the knowledge that is to be gained from study and practice conjoined He who is only versed in books will be alarmed and confused, like a coward in the field of battle, when he is called upon to encounter active disease He who

* [Susr, Vol I, p 4]

rashly engages in practice, without previous conversancy with written science, will be entitled to no respect from mankind, and merits punishment from the king Those men who, in ignorance of the structure of the human frame, venture to make it the subject of their experiments, are the murderers of their species He alone, who is endowed with both theory and experience, proceeds with safety and stability, like a chariot on two wheels"—It is much to be regretted that these aphorisms have so little influenced Hindu practitioners.

The instrumental part of Medical treatment was, according to the best authorities, of eight kinds—*Chhedana*, cutting or scission, *Bhedana*, division or excision, *Lekhana*, which means drawing lines, appears to be applied to scarification and inoculation, *Vyadhana*, puncturing, *Eshya*, probing, or sounding, *Aharya*, extraction of solid bodies, *Visravana*, extraction of fluids, including venesection, and *Sevana*, or sewing and the mechanical means, by which these operations were performed, seem to have been sufficiently numerous Of these the principal are the following —

Yantras, properly machines, in the present case instruments, but to distinguish them from the next class, to which that title more particularly applies, we may call them implements, *Sastras*, weapons, or instruments, *Kshara*, alkaline solutions, or caustics, *Agni*, fire, the actual cautery, *Salaka*, pins, or tents, *Śringa*, horns, the horns of animals open at the ex-

tremities, and, as well as *Alabu* or gourds, used as our cupping glasses, the removal of the atmospheric pressure through the first being effected by suction, and in the second by rarifying the air by the application of a lamp The next subsidiary means are *Jalauka*, or leeches

Besides these, we have thread, leaves, bandages, pledgets, heated metallic plates for erubescents, and a variety of astringent or emollient applications The enumeration is tolerably full, and the details are curious, if not instructive

The detailed descriptions of the Hindu instruments we have been able to meet with are not very minute or precise As also they are not illustrated by drawings or plates,* we are deprived of any thing like ocular verification of their construction A few instruments, and some of neat and ingenious fabric, are in the hands of native operators, particularly those for depressing cataracts, but they are not very common, and we know not how far they may correspond with those designated by early writers We can only therefore conjecture what the instruments might have been, by adding to the imperfect description given of them the purport of their names, and the objects to which they were applied

The *Yantras*, or implements, known to the author of the Sausruta were one hundred and one, and are

* [A plate containing drawings of the 90 Sastras is inserted in Wise's Hindu System of Medicine Calcutta 1845 facing p 169]

classed as Swastikas, Sandansas, Talayantras, Nadiyantras, Salakas, and Upayantras.*

The *Swastikas* are twenty four in number—they are metallic, usually eighteen inches long, having heads or points fancifully shaped like the heads of animals, the beaks of birds, &c. They are secured with small pins and are curved or hooked at the points, and are used to extract splinters of bone or foreign bodies lodged in the bones—they were therefore pincers, nippers, or forceps.

The *Sandansas*, which in usual import mean tongs, were of that description. There were in the time of Susruta but two sorts, one with and one without a ligature or noose (Nigraha?) attached. They were smaller than the preceding, being but sixteen inches in length, and were used to remove extraneous substances from the soft parts, as the flesh, skin, vessels, &c. The work of Vágbhatta adds another sort, only six inches long, which were employed preferably for the soft parts and for fleshy excrescences.

The *Talayantras* must have been something of the same kind, only smaller, their length being but twelve inches. They were but two, and were employed to bring away foreign matters lodged in the outer canals, as the ears, &c.

The *Nadiyantras* were, as the name implies, tubular instruments. There were twenty sorts, varying in

* [Susruta I, ch. 7.]

size and shape according to their intended use They were employed for removing extraneous bodies from deep seated canals, as the intestines, urethra, &c for examining affections of parts similarly removed from inspection, for the introduction of other instruments, so as to enable them to be applied, and for drawing off fluids by suction, &c The work of Vagbhatta specifies the number of perforations in each of these tubes, as they varied in this respect as well as others the descriptions are however very indistinct, and we can only conclude generally, that they bore an analogy to our canulæ catheters, syringes, &c

The *Salakas* were rods, and sounds, &c They were of twenty-eight kinds, varying in size and shape, for extracting foreign matters, lodged in parts of difficult access, for cleansing or clearing internal canals, especially the urethra, for applying collyria, caustic solutions, and the actual cautery, and for eradicating nasal polypi, the complaint called Nakra so common and so troublesome in India, and to be alleviated by no other means than the forcible extraction of the irritating excrescence

The *Upayantras* were, as their appellation signifies, merely accessory implements, such as twine, leather, bark skin cloth, &c

The first, best, and most important of all implements, however, is declared to be the *Hand*

The next division of our apparatus consists of the *Sastras*, the instruments, of which twenty different

sorts are enumerated by Susruta,* twenty-six by Vágbhatta They were of metal, and should be always bright handsome, polished, and sharp, sufficiently so indeed to divide a hair longitudinally The latter authority adds, they were in general not above six inches in length, and that the blade forms about a half or quarter of that length They are less fully described than the preceding in the Sausruta, and we can only partially, and perhaps not very accurately, notice a few of them, as detailed in the two works referred to

The *Mandalagra* appears to be a round pointed lancet, the *Vriddhipatra* a knife with a broad blade, the *Arddhadharas* are perhaps knives with one edge, the *Trikurchaka* is a lancet with three prongs or blades, the *Urittagra* may be a sort of canular trochar, having a guarded point The *Vrihimukha* is a perforating instrument, and when used is held in the hollow of the hand, whilst the point is steadied between the thumb and forefinger The *Kutharika* appears to be a kind of Bistouri, as it is a cutting instrument to be held in the left hand, whilst it is conducted by the thumb and middle finger of the right The *Vadisa* is a hooked or curved instrument, for extracting foreign substances, and the *Dantaśanku* appears to be an instrument for drawing teeth The *Ára* and *Karapatra* are saws for cutting through bones The *Eshani* is a blunt straight instrument,

* [I cl 8.]

six or eight inches long, for examining abscesses, sinuses, &c or, in fact, a probe The *Suchí* is a needle

Anuśastras are supplements, or substitutes, such as rough leaves, that draw blood, as those of the Sephálíká, Gojí, &c crystal, or glass, the pith of some trees, skin, leeches, caustics, &c With these therefore, and the Yantras, the Hindu Chirurgeon was not ineffectively armed

The means by which the young practitioner is to obtain dexterity in the use of his instruments are of a mixed character, and whilst some are striking specimens of the lame contrivances to which the want of the only effective vehicle of instruction, human dissection, compelled the Hindus to have recourse, others surprise us by their supposed incompatibility with what we have been hitherto disposed to consider as insurmountable prejudices Thus the different kinds of scission, longitudinal, transverse, inverted, and circular, are directed to be practised on flowers, bulbs, and gourds Incision on skins, or bladders, filled with paste and mire,—scarification on the *fresh hides of animals from which the hair has not been removed*,—puncturing, or lancing, on the hollow stalks of plants, or *the vessels of dead animals*,—extraction *on the cavities of the same*, or fruits with many large seeds, as the Jack and Bel,—sutures, on skin and leather, and ligatures and bandages on well-made models of the human limbs The employment of leather, skin, and even of dead carcases, thus enjoined, proves an

exemption from notions of impurity we were little to expect when adverting to their actual prevalence. Of course, their use implies the absence of any objections to the similar employment of human subjects, and although they are not specified, they may possibly be implied in the general direction which the author of the Sausruta gives, that the teacher shall seek to perfect his pupil by the *application of all expedients which* he may think calculated to effect his proficiency

Of the supplementary articles of Hindu surgery the first is *Ashara,* alkaline or alkalescent salts * This is obtained by burning different vegetable substances, and boiling the ashes with five or six times their measure of water In some cases the concentrated solution is used after straining, and is administered internally, as well as applied externally For the latter purpose, however, the Sarngadhara directs the solution, after straining, to be boiled to dryness, by which, of course, a carbonate of potash will be obtained, more or less caustic according to its purity It is not unlikely that some of the vegetable substances employed will yield a tolerably pure alkali, and in that case will afford an active caustic Care is enjoined in their use, and emollient applications are to be applied, if the caustic occasions very great pain At the same time these and the other substitutes for instrumental agents are only to be had recourse to, where it is necessary to humour the weakness of the patient

* [Susr I ch. 11]

They are especially found serviceable, where the surgeon has to deal with princes and persons of rank, old men, women and children, and individuals of a timid and effeminate character

We need not advert particularly to the nature and use of the horns and gourds, as, however rude the substitute, the principle is sufficiently obvious and correct With respect to the bandages, also, of which fourteen kinds are described by *Vagbhatta*, it would be useless to attempt so unintelligible a detail We shall therefore close this account of the Hindu apparatus, with a selection of some of the circumstances our authorities specify, regarding the actual cautery and leeches

The *cautery** is applied by hot seeds, combustible substances inflamed, boiling fluids of a gelatinous or mucous consistence, and heated metallic bars, plates, and probes The application is useful in many cases, as to the temples and forehead for headaches, to the eyelids for diseases of the eyes, to the part affected for indurations in the skin, to the sides for spleen and liver, and to the abdomen for mesenteric enlargements As amongst the Greeks, however, the chief use of the cautery was in the case of hemorrhages, bleeding being stopped by searing the wounded vessels

Much pains, and perhaps to but little good purpose, were bestowed upon the subject of *leeches*** It is

* [Susr I, ch 12]

** [ib ch 13]

said that there are twelve sorts, of which six are venomous — they are thus enumerated The six poisonous leeches are the *Krishna*, or black and two headed, the *Karbura*, the large bellied leech with a scaly hide the *Alagarda*, the hairy leech, the *Indrayudha*, which is variegated like a rain-bow, whence its name, the *Samudrika*, which is striped yellow and black, and the *Gochandana* The bites of these produce excessive irritation, great itching, heat, and pain, spasms, sickness, and syncope, and that of the Indrayudha even death The six sorts that are fit for use are the *Kapila*, or tawny leech, with a smooth back and glossy sides, the *Pingala*, a similar animal, but with a redder tinge, the *Śankumukhi*, which is of a yellow colour, and has a long sharp head, the *Mushika*, of a dun colour, the *Pundarikamukhi*, which is of the hue of the Mudga (Phaseolus Moong), and the *Savarika*, which resembles the leaf of the lotus in its colour The first six are bred in foul, stagnant, and putrescent waters, whilst the latter are met with in the vicinity of clear and deep pools — they are all amphibious Very minute instructions are laid down for their preservation and training, but we need not pause to extract them, as they are not very important If the leeches, when applied, are slow and sluggish, a little blood may be drawn from the part by a lancet, to excite their vivacity, when they fall off, the bleeding may be maintained by the use of the horns and gourds, or the substitutes already mentioned, for the cupping glasses of our own practice

The details thus concisely noticed prepare us to expect an active practice amongst those to whom they were familiar, and accordingly we find that, in the practical treatment of diseases, many of the great operations of the chiropoietic art are enjoined, such as extraction of the stone in the bladder, and even the removal of the fœtus from the uterus. The operations are rude, and very imperfectly described. They were evidently bold, and must have been hazardous — their being attempted at all is however most extraordinary, unless their obliteration from the knowledge, not to say the practice, of later times be considered as a still more remarkable circumstance. It would be an enquiry of some interest, to trace the period and causes of the disappearance of Surgery from amongst the Hindus: it is evidently of comparatively modern occurrence, as operative and instrumental practice forms so principal a part of those writings, which are undeniably most ancient, and which, being regarded as the composition of inspired writers, are held of the highest authority. It is an enquiry connected with the progress of manners, for the persons whoever they were, who wrote in the character of Munis, or deified sages, would not have compromised that character by imparting precepts utterly contrary to the ritual or the law, or at variance with the principles and prejudices of their countrymen. In what has been already quoted from Susruta and Vagbhatta, however, there is much that is utterly irreconcilable with present notions, and in other parts of their